

PASQUIN and MARFORIO

ON THE

PEACE:

BEING

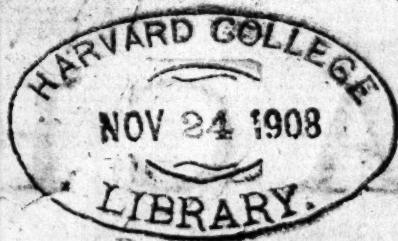
A *Discussion*, by these celebrated
STATUES at *Rome*, of the general
Conduct of England, but particularly
pending the late War, and in negoti-
ating the present *Peace*.

Translated from *Italian*, and inscribed
to the Earl of C——f——d, by the Translator,
who, in his Dedication, examines the M——1
Vindication of the Peace, just published under the
Title of *Considerations on the Definitive Treaty, &c.*

*Inscia gens se nunc, speculum en, scrutetur, imago
Vera nimis prodet, obsequiosa parum.*

LONDON:

PRINTED for W. WEBB, near St. Paul's. 1748.



By exchange
New York Public Library

TO THE

E— of C——F—D.

MY LORD,

I Am mistaken, or the celebrated Personages, who here seek your Lordship's Protection, have a better Title to your Patronage than some that have affixed your Name to Works which you could not approve of, without derogating from the generous Plan you laid down for the Standard of your own Conduct. Your Lordship's Study has been directed to the Amendment of your Countrymen, and Happiness of your Country. A glorious Design! which these Foreigners seem to have no less in View than your Lordship. Nor is it unlikely but they may have taken your Lordship for their Model, in writing to a People sunk in Luxury and Corruption; for we find them varying their Stile with the Subject, and attempting, in Imitation of your Lordship, to sting and tickle in the same Breath. How they have succeeded I must submit to your Lordship, with this single Apology in their Favour, that they wear a Dress which is not of their own fashioning, and for which their English Taylor only is answerable.

I have a second Apology to make to your Lordship, of a pretty singular Nature, and not for my Authors, but my Bookseller, who was not to be persuaded to fill up a Chasm which your Lordship will find in Page 20, with a Latin Ode characterizing two Persons, as indifferent as unknown to either him or I. But whether the Man was frighted at a late Example in W——r H——ll, and was afraid of wearing the F——l's C-p, or imagined that all was T——n which he did not understand, he was as stiff in his Refusal, as Pasquin says we English are in Error. But here, and indeed in all that is

charged on the Nation throughout the four Dialogues, your Lordship is always excepted; and herein no less appears the Justice than Discernment of my old Romans. Could they have found other Characters among us, as unblemished and amiable as your Lordship's, we are to suppose that you would not have stood alone in their Works. But tho' they could find you no Equal, it was no less politick than just to produce you for a Pattern of Imitation. Happy that we have one Lot in our Sodom to avert the Wrath of Heaven! Happy that we have one noble Patriot, whose Eloquence can persuade to a Scrutiny of our past Conduct, and whose Practice should induce us to alter it!

Thus far I journeyed, intending here to take Leave of your Lordship, when my wary Bookseller sent me the * M——l Defence of the Peace, wishing I would examine if it clashed with Pasquin and Marforio in their Discussion of the Definitive Treaty. To this End I bestowed a serious Reading on this specious Performance, and find it, as all the Productions from the same Quarter, eluding the principal Points of the Argument, and enforcing those that are foreign to it, constantly begging the Question, and taking for granted what is generally denied, affecting a Tenderness for the Community, to be found in the M——l Lucubrations only, and bespeaking the publick Approbation of the Treaty in much such a specious and smooth Expression as Shakespear puts into Mark Antony's Mouth to win the Mob of Rome to his insidious Purposes.

This Writer sets out with wondring, that, in a Land of Liberty, such as ours, so many should incline to believe the Government to be always in the Wrong. If I mistake not, the Animadversions of my chizzled Authors, on our publick Conduct, prove the Rectitude of the Imputation; but sure I am that the Harangues, still fresh in our Memories, of some of the present Gentle-
men

* Considerations on the Definitive Treaty, &c. by J. Roberts.

men in Power, before they tasted the Sweets of Employments, might incline many to believe the G——r seldom in the Right. But however wrong or right publick Conduct may have been for the Time past, I cannot agree with this Writer, that the Definitive Treaty is any Exception to the general Charge, which he says so many are inclined to bring against the G——t, of being always in the Wrong.

This Advocate for the Treaty plumes himself exceedingly on the Fitness of the Time when our wise M——rs listned to the pacifick Overtures of the Enemy. But why was not the Year before as fit a Season, when your Lordship urged the Acceptance of the Proposals of France, which grants no more now than was offered then? Pasquin accounts for this Conduct very naturally, when he says that the Peace is the Offspring of Fear, engendered between a Dutch Sutterkin and E——sh Beetle. But, with this Writer's Leave, that Part of the M——l Measure which he most applauds, is, in the Opinion of most Men, that which is most liable to Objection, because, as we had not embraced the Overtures of France, while she was in Condition to carry on the War, we ought to have stood out, when Famine, Bankruptcy, a total Depression of Commerce, and every other Evil stared her full in the Face, or rather had overtaken her.

But what will not a Writer endeavour palming on his Readers, who asserts that the House of Bourbon comes out of the War with no Addition of Power, whereas that of the House of Austria was never so great and so conspicuous. One must entertain a very mean Opinion of his Readers, or must himself be weaker than he supposes them to be, who could hope to persuade them, that one Man is not the more powerful for being richer, nor another the less potent for being poorer. We find however our Author inclining to Compunction, at least to Modesty, where he owns, in

the same Breath, that the Countries restored to the Empress Queen have been very much harrassed, and some of the Fortresses in them much injured, if not demolished. Yet, for all this, the Loss of Silesia, the richest of the Austrian Provinces, and the Cession of Parma, Placentia, Guastalla, and best Part of the Milanese, the Power of the House of Austria was never so great and conspicuous.

If this Advocate for our Negotiators may be credited, the Balance of Power in general is no less firmly established, by the Treaty, than the Power of the House of Austria is greater and more conspicuous than ever. But it happens unluckily that his Proofs for the former are as vague and inconclusive as those he offers in favour of the latter. If the Empress Queen be less powerful than before the War, and the House of Bourbon more powerful by new Acquisitions; if Powers in the Empire, Allies of France by Interest, have sprung up lately to be formidable at the Expence of the House of Austria, I cannot conceive how the Balance of Power comes to be as firmly established as is pretended it is by this Defence of the Peace.

But, that we may be sure our Peace-Makers were not less mindful of Home than of Austria and H——r, we are told that the immediate Concerns of Englishmen are taken as much Care of in the Treaty as could be reasonably expected or desired. I have known such various Uses made of the Word reasonable, by Advocates for Power, that I am not sure but I should mistake this Author's Meaning, if I should go about putting the natural Construction on this Part of his Defence. For Instance, should I say, that Englishmen might have reasonably expected Security for their Navigation in America, and Compensation for Depredations committed upon them before the War, I might be silenced, by being told, that, as there is a new Negotiation on Foot with Spain, it is reasonable to expect we shall fare better at Madrid than at Aix.

Another

Another of our Concerns, which is the Demolition of the Port of Dunkirk, is, according to this Writer, settled quite to our Satisfaction. Your Lordship will readily perceive, by the XVII Article of the Treaty, that the Satisfaction here intended is solely Ministerial.

But the Guaranty of the Succession of the Crown is confirmed in the clearest Terms, as much as to say, that the Peace is excellent which secures us so firm a Guaranty, tho' every other national Concern had been omitted in the Treaty. If Conveniency be the first Article in the regal Creed, we may be sure that this general Guaranty will be observed just as long and as well as the last was.

In Answer to a general Complaint, that the Advice of P——t had not been required either before or after the Preliminaries were signed, we are told, that the Sense of Parliament might be very well known, and very safely collected by the Ministers, from what passed in Parliament. I readily own that Moderns may have made considerable Improvements in ministerial Knowledge, and found new Lights and Paths to the understanding of P——t M——n; but, in the Case before us, I don't remember any Thing that passed in P——t last Session, leading to the ministerial Knowledge here asserted, except that the M——rs themselves, in their Harangues, were known to urge the Necessity of ending the War. This is somewhat similar to the M——rs echoing back, in an Address, their own Sense of a Speech of their own making.

There is no Part of this Defence so shining, because the truest, as the Portraiture of the Inabilities of the of the House of Bourbon before the Peace, and her arduous Care since to restore her Trade and redress the heavy Grievances of her Subjects. But, was not the owning this Truth a tacit Avowal of the Charge brought against the M——y for precipitating the Peace?

The Ignominy of stooping to a vain, arrogant Neighbour,

hour, in the Article of Hostages, is slurred over, by this passive Scribe, in the same calm Manner in which he answers all other important Objections to the Treaty. Hostages, he says, were necessary and usual. If our bonne Foi had not been doubted, by a People who judged of us by themselves, Pledges had not been required. And herein the foul Stain of double Dealing is endeavoured to be fixt upon us. Hostages indeed were usual; but it was always from such as were inferior in Rank and Power, which I hope this Defender does not think to be the Case of Britain at present. Pasquin has cut this Dispute short, by wishing, as all Englishmen ought, that the Hostages had been H—ns.

The Apologist takes Leave of the courteous Reader, by assuring that all an Englishman can wish for, or wants, may be attained, if the People be but content to encourage Men to mean well, by putting a right Construction on their Meaning. By this may we see how easily the Definitive Treaty, by a little Court—Legerde-main, may be juggled into a Restorative, or any good Thing one can imagine. 'Tis but encouraging, and supposing our M—rs to mean well, and they are safe, and the Nation is happy.

But, leaving the farther Correction of this Defender to Pasquin and Marforio, who have pre-exposed all his Sophistry, I beg Leave to congratulate your Lordship on your Resignation before the Negotiation for a Peace was set on Foot. We all wished you in the M—y, before we saw how ill you were used there, and as ardently wished you back again, for Fear you should be smutted by the M—l Coalmen. I have the Honour to be,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

The TRANSLATOR.

Pasquin and Marforio on the Peace, &c.

DIALOGUE I.

Pasq. **F**ROM thy Air of Importance, old Chum, you should be big with some dark consistorial Secret——Shall I call up *Lucina* to deliver thee; or acquaint the Cardinal *Inquisitor* that thou art in a Plot against the Holy-Office?

Marf. 'Tis a Wonder how so meddling and frank a Speaker as thou art could have escaped, for so many Ages, the Justice of that necessary Judicature——

Pasq. Necessary Judicature! What, because, forsooth, it is necessary that the Laity should be spurred and whipt in the narrow Way that leads to Bliss? Ah, *Marfi!* Talk not thou, who hast so long experienced the Equity of Churchmen, of the Justice of the Holy-Office——I could love *Rome*, but for that Judicature.

Marf. Is *Rome* the only Place where there is an Inquisition? Is there a Land in *Europe*, I may say in the World, where Churchmen bear not the chief Sway?

Pasq. What, *Marforio!* among the free Sons of the Reformation?

Marf. Yes; and of those the very freest of them are the greatest Slaves to their Churchmen.

Pasq. Dear *Marfi!* Truce with Contradiction——The *Freest* of the *Free* are the greatest Slaves——ha, ha! Prithee, old Stubborn, deal not thus *freely* in the Profound.

Marf. Like a pert Critick, that determines and exults before he has examined, you plume yourself on the having caught me tripping; but thou shalt

be thy own Confounder, as often thy petulant Brethren are—Of all Governments the *Democratick* is the freest; and, of all the *Democracies* in *Europe*, that of *Geneva* breathes Freedom most; yet—

Pasq. The Laity there are but Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water to their lordly Pastors—I understand thee, *Marforio*, and take Shame to myself for my Petulancy—You forgive me—

Marf. To relapse the first Time any Thing escapes the Ken of thy shallow Comprehension—But come, as this is the first Time I have known thee lapsing into Modesty or Remorse, I pardon thee, on Condition, however, that you own the Sons of the Reformation to be as *Priest-ridden* as those of the old Establishment.

Pasq. As much as to say, that every Country has its Inquisition.

Marf. Undoubtedly—Does not the annual Payment of Tithes and parochial Dues prove it beyond a Contradiction, not to mention a thousand Instances, besides, of the Subjection of the Laity, and Despotism of the Clergy, as well among the Reformed as Catholicks. Ask a hardy *Scot* if every Parish in his Country be not ridden by its Pope, and he will answer in the Affirmative, perhaps with this aggravating Reflection, that it would be some Alleviation of his Thraldom, if his spiritual Tyrant had been armed with the awful Buckler of Infallibility.

Pasq. A rare two-edged Sword, that hews all before it.

Marf. The only Weapon that can colour any Power or Pre-eminence arrogated by *Churchmen*. What a Contradiction would it be for me, that am no more gifted than thee; that pretend to no supernatural Gift, to no Power delegated by the highest Dispenser of all Power; that own you have an equal Right

Right with myself to judge and determine on Points of Doctrine; for me, I say, that am no better, no more enlighten'd than thyself, to pretend to direct or controul your Conscience—

Pasq. Would be as absurd and impertinent as for a blind Man to read me a Lecture on Colours.

Marf. Yet, absurd as it may seem, ungifted as they are, without forming any Pretensions to Infallibility either, you see how they curb and bestride the Flock. If crafty Men expect to rise by exciting *Rebellion* against a lawful Prince, it is but luring the Clergy on their Side, and presently Rebellion ceases to be any more than a necessary *Opposition*, which the Subjects are taught to join in under Pain of Damnation—

Pasq. But if, on the other Hand, it should be necessary to preach back the People to their Duty to the Prince so rebelled against, if Opportunity offered for righting Mistakes and doing Justice, would not these Bellows-Blowers in black, think you, thump the Cushion in favour of the Injured?

Marf. Not unless they could be sure to find their private Accounts in the Change of their Language. You might have observed a recent Instance, in a distant *Western* Region, of the *Restitutio*nal Spirit of Churchmen, and the *Influence* of their Sabbatical Vociferations.

Pasq. If I do not forget; the *Pens* of Churchmen, on that extraordinary Occasion, were no less employed than their Lungs.

Marf. And more useful than the Sword—

Pasq. I can tell you what was then of more Efficacy than either, *Gold*, which wrested Secrets from the *Secretary*, misted *Generals* in their Way to sure Victory by Night, and raised the Spirit of *Opposition* in *Councils of War*—*Gold*, my dear *Marf*, all-powerful *Gold*, which charms the brave *Lion* of *Liberty* into Shackles

Shackles and Chains ; which so covers the Drum of the Ears of *Senators*, that they are deaf to the sweet Voice of Truth, and which so stiffens their Hearts, as to be unable to bend to the Allurements of real Patriotism.—Ah! powerful, shining Earth, that rulest this Ball we stand on, that forcest Sceptres out of righteous Hands, and—

Marf. Swords out of the Hands of successful Generals—

*Quid valet externi strepitus, tormenta, furorque ?
Nil ; nisi consilium temperet arma domi.*

Pasq. As much as to say, that the *Blunders* of the Cabinet of *Versailles* have rendered the Victories of *Saxe* and *Lowendhall* of little Use to *France*.

Marf. Not so much the Blunders as the *Envy* and *Corruption* of the reigning Juncto in the *French Ministry*. The Objects of the first are the two foreign Generals you named—

Pasq. And of the latter, Gold, *English Gold*, which saved the *Cheesemongers* from feeding on *French Sillabubs*—Gad, old Stiff! This same Peace, which is come to us piping-hot from the political Oven of *Aix*, seems to be a strange Hotch-potch ; an *Olio*, an incomprehensible Medley, built not so much on the Basis of Equity and Reason, as on Whim, Caprice, Ignorance, and Partiality.

Marf. You might have added *Necessity*.

Pasq. What *Necessity* could the Victors be driven to?

Marf. You confine the Word *Necessity* to *France* singly, when it is applicable more to the other Powers at War.

Pasq. Nay, name not *Powers* ; for I know but one in each Confederacy that could command Peace, or

or bid the War to glow ; *France* on one Side, and *England* on the other. To their Fiddles the Allies on both Sides were obliged to dance. Therefore, my little *Marfi*, if thou wouldest urge *Necessity*, let it be applicable to *France* or *England* only.

Marf. I agree with thee, *Pasquin* ; the Preliminaries to the Peace we are examining prove the Rectitude of your Conclusion. All the Powers concerned, except *France* on one Side, and *England* on the other, knew nothing of them when first signed, and were dragged to agree to them afterwards—

Pasq. As they are into the Peace—

Marf. *Necessity* hath no Law—

Pasq. You are right as to the Confederates on both Sides who were obliged to subscribe ; but the Principals, *France* and *England*, the first commanding the Land, the other the Ocean, how could such conquering Powers be pressed by *Necessity* ?

Marf. Thus. Tho' *England* had no Equal at Sea, she may be said to have been inferior to all on Land, even to those Powers that could scarce move without her.

Pasq. Blunder, *Marfi*, the deep Mire of Blunder, in which the Unrighteous and Ungifted flounder incessantly ! The *English* had first wantonly floundred into the War, and conducted it afterwards without Caution or Foresight.

Marf. The *English* ! *Pasquin*, I thought you had known better than to criminate that *brave, wise, just* People for Errors imputable only to their Ministry—

Pasq. To their own *Gold*, you might better say. *Gold*, old Boy, is the Idol the *English* bow to. After they had driven their *Moses* from his Office, they made unto them a *Golden Calf*, to which they have paid constant Adoration ever since—*Brave, wise,* and

and *just*! High Epithets, *Marf*; but, prithee, in what Sense applicable to the *English*?

Marf. There is no refusing the *English* Courage; they will fight—

Pasq. So will their Dogs and Cocks, without Meaning or Design—They will fight; so will other Nations: And they can run away too, as well as fight, as *Saxe* can testify—Tell me not that a People will fight, and thence bestow the Epithet *Brave* on them. As well may the Highwayman, who assaults resolutely to gain a Purse, be deemed *Brave*, as a Nation that fight in an *unrighteous Cause*. Ever since the Erection of the *Golden Idol* mentioned before, the Plan on which the *E—sh* fought has been defective. There was a Time, *Marforio*, when our Ancestors here, within this once awful Seat of Empire, were *brave* in the fullest Extent of the Word. They fought *bravely* Abroad for Conquest, and at Home for *Freedom*.

Marf. The ancient *Romans* were truly *brave*—

Pasq. So were the ancient *Britons*. But, ye Gods, how altered and degenerated! Do they not too nearly resemble those *Romans* that outlived the Constitution of their Country, and bowed to the *ministerial* Yoke in the Days of the *Cæsars*?

Marf. Servile Wretches—

Pasq. Famish'd Slaves! Hungry for the *Gold* which themselves had given.

Marf. How, *Pasquin*?

Pasq. As absurd as it may seem, the Charge is nevertheless founded on the firm Basis of unerring Truth. What have Princes or their Delegates, (Ministers) but what they receive of the People? Even that Power which is often turned against the Herd is derived from themselves: Nor is it less certain that the *Means* of Corruption comes mediately from the *Corrupted*.

Corrupted. Had the People of all Countries reached out a sparing Hand to Courts, *Corruption* would have been a Stranger here on Earth as well as *Despotism*; but, for Want of that *Parcimony*, which even Nature seems to dictate, behold what *Waste Corruption* has committed on this Tennis-Ball of ours? Various are the Origins assigned to *Tyranny* by Scepticks; but I say, that *Gold* is its Parent. And I prove it thus: Take Notice, that by *Gold* I suggest every Means of Corruption, whether by private or publick Pensions and Employments, or by Titles and Honour undeservedly conferred.

Marf. To your Proof. A Syllogism from a Rattle will be a Curiosity—Ha, ha!

Pasq. As hollow as you may deem this Pericranium of mine, Mr. *Simperer*, my Hands are clean, and my Heart is honest.

Marf. So are mine, Mr. *Pert*; and what then?

Pasq. That for the Want of their being so, the reverend Senate that once graced this Capital, and governed the World, became *Slaves* themselves, and transmitted *Slavery* to their wretched Descendents.

Marf. Cursed Avarice and Ambition! See what Havock they make even now in the *Western Hemisphere*.

Pasq. Rather impute the big Ruin to *Luxury* more than to *Avarice*. The latter is insatiable, and for that Reason oft proves too craving and stubborn to be bent by the Wiles or Power of the Ambitious. But *Luxury*, liable to be fed a thousand Ways, yields as soon as addressed, having before-hand cashiered *Patriotism*, the only Guard that could secure her.

Marf. The *Luxurious* indeed are easier let down to base Prostitution than others—

Pasq. And therefore have been at all Times the readier Instruments of Power. What else but *Luxury*

try warps *Senators* from the Duty owing to Posterity and themselves? They give but to *receive*, and receive the *Wages* of the Infamy but to support their Extravagance, a Term indeed more harsh than *Luxury*, but which expresses it truly.

Marf. Well may we have seen an unmeaning War, and as unmeaning a Peace, when—

Pasq. *Senators* and *Counsellors* frisk and caper to the Pipe of *Corruption*, not unlike the Squadrons of the voluptuous *Sybarite* of old, who were taught to prance and beat Time to the Musick of the Flute.

Marf. And by that very Means were made Slaves by the *Crotonite*, who turned their own Wantonness upon them in the Day of Battle.

Pasq. Oh, thoughtless Moderns! Oh, senseless Generation! What else but *Chains* can be the Consequence of that *Venality* so eminently conspicuous among the *Guardians* of national *Liberty*?—These, *Marforio*, are they whom you had just now embroidered with the splendid Epithets, of *Brave*, *Wise*, and *Just*. Recant, old Stiff, or I shall think you have tinselled out your Heroes but to expose them the more, as hard-favoured Women become the uglier for being decked out with Jewels.

Marf. And, like the beautiful of that bewitching Sex, you expect that all should bow before you in Sense and Argument. I suppose you will challenge the *Wisdom* of the *E—h* as you have their *Bravery*.

Pasq. By no Means. What Arrogance would it be for me to doubt the *Wisdom* of a People that act so *wisely*, and without Doubt think themselves the *wisest* of all Nations? Far be it from me to impeach the *Wisdom* of Islanders, that have been, for more than Half a Century, running their Noses into all the Quarrels on the *Continent*, and clogging their *Trade* and *Industry* beyond almost a Possibility of

of Relief, in Support of those Quarrels. Are not the late *War*, the *Conduct* of it on the Side of *E—d*, and the *Peace* which puts an End to it, so many recent Proofs of *E—h Wisdom*? O fie! The *E—h* not *wise*, that seek Heaven thro' the Gates of *Poverty* and *Subjection*!

Marf. *Poverty* and *Subjection*, *Pasquin*! What would you be now at?

Pasq. Must not a People that give more than their *All* become *poor*?

Marf. Giving more than *All*, *Pasquin*, savours of that *Profound* you often charge on others.

Pasq. May not a Man be said to give more than his *All*, who runs in *Debt* far beyond his Ability to pay? How else, but by *giving* annually more than they were able, have the *E—h* accumulated a *Debt* of near *Four hundred Millions of Crowns*, which will ever be such a *Load* on their *Trade*, as must bring on *Poverty*, and such an *Engine* in the *Hands* of *Ministers*, as must bring on *Subjection*? Shew me the *Man* that dare *resist*, tho' his *Freedom* be invaded, while his *Fortune* lies at the *Mercy* of the *Powersful*. Thou knowest, that where a *Man's* *Treasure* is, there is his *Heart* also. Besides, what better *Pledge* can there be for a *People's* *Obedience*, than such a *Mortgage* on their *Properties*? A *Mortgage* pregnant with those courtly *Plagues*, *Poverty* and *Slavery*, which are *Gates* by which these *wise* *Insularians* intend to pass to the *Elysian Shades*. A no less poignant Proof of *E—h Wisdom* is, that implicit *Confidence* they repose in their haranguing *Patriots*. Let them change *Sides* never so often, turn their *Coats* never so frequently, bellow for the *People*, or sell and treat them ever so *contemptuously*; in short, let their *Orators* say and do what they will, so that they are disgusted at their *Betters*, and

pretend to *Patriotism*, presently they are received and caressed by the *wise* Herd, whom they had deceived a thousand Times. What an *Idol* was he who pruned the *Olive Tree* lately bearing Fruit at *A—x*, after he had made that memorable Oration in 1742. against taking *H—n* Troops into *E—h* Pay, wherein he treated with uncommon *Politeness* One that he had since honoured him with peculiar Confidence?

Marf. He was then a *Patriot*.

Pasq. Yes, a loud, railing *Patriot*, as all must be that would lure the *wise* Populace to help pushing them up to Power and Preferment. But should the present ministerial System grow so perplext as to oblige the Prince to a Change of Hands, we shall see this pliant *Courtier* returning to the oft-try'd *Patriotick Vomit*, and as well received as if he had never warped from his Professions to the *wise* Rounds on whom he rose to the Sphere he now shines in— Alas ! These are but few of a Multitude of Instances I could bring of the distinguished *Wisdom* of these *wise* Men of *Gotha*, who had expended an Ocean of Blood and Treasure, in the Memory of Man, in Support of *Religion* which they ridicule, and of *Liberty* whose Substance they are said to have dropt for the Shadow ; as that silly *Beast* in the Fable, who, to wreak Vengeance on the *Stag*, lost his *Freedom* to him whom he had called in to maintain it.

*Cervus equum pugna melior, communibus herbis
Pellebat ; donec minor in certamine longo
Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit :
Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
Non equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore.*

Marf. Well, well ; as to the *Wisdom* of that *stubborn*

born People, I confess the Argument yields to your Side of the Question ; but I think it must bend to me when their *Justice* comes to be considered.

Pasq. We shall examine *E—h Justice* presently ; but let me not pass by a new Epithet you bestow upon them. *That stubborn People ! Stubborn*, where it means a Tenaciousness in the *Right*, in the Path to *Virtue*, is Praise-worthy ; but what shall we say if it be directed to a quite contrary Object ? Constant in Ill, stiff in the Wrong, wilful and determined in Error, even when Experience points it out ; if *stubborn*, in this Light, be an eligible Epithet, you are welcome to deck your Favorites with it.

Marf. The *E—h* of all Nations were my *Favorites*, I confess. But——

Pasq. Since they ceased to be that *brave, wise, just* People you painted them, they are no longer your Darlings. I thought I should be able take you down as dictatorial as you affect to be. But, prithee, *Marf*, by what Means have that People forfeited your good Opinion ? How long have they been declining in your Esteem ?—I see thou art no Adept at Numbers. Shall I calculate for thee ?—Let me see ; In 16.. they embraced a *Novelty* unknown to their Fathers or Laws ; a Cloud which a jaundiced Fiend had presented to them for *Juno*. In 17.. they bargained for *Posterity*, against *Conviction* and the stated Maxims of their Country ; they offended against *Innocence* then in no Capacity of giving Offence. In 17.. an Opportunity offered for recovering the *visual Ray*, but they spurned the Day-giving Hand from them with Contumely. And in 17.. a second Attempt was made towards their Cure ; but, ah, *Marforio ! Urge me not to paint them truly* on this latter Occasion. The Scene is too gloomy to bear the Light ; the I——ty too big for Words.—Let it suffice,

fice, that filleted *Justice* held not the Balance, even while the bold Contest lasted, tho' *Fortune* played her usual Pranks to shew her Power, and make Mortals stare at the Madness of her Distributions.

Marf. Yet, *Pasquin*, the different Objects, which *Fortune* had then *smiled* and *frowned* upon, bore little Similitude to each other,

Pasq. None. Light and Darkness differ not more than they. One was a *Cherub* in human Shape, the other a ****, embodied in an ample Entrenchment of Flesh and Blood. Take the Pourtrait of both, in this *Impromptu* in the Mother Tongue of our glorious Ancestors.

— &c.

HOY 22 JULY 1890 AD B.M.
Yet the *Cherub* became the Sport of undiscerning *Fortune*, and was well nigh becoming the Victim of an undiscerning People.—Oh! Scene of Horror! Let us turn Thought from it, dear *Marforio*, that a Scene yet more tragick, of an older Date, may not so fill up the Chasms of the Mind, as to render us unapt for treating the important Subject we are met to discuss.

Marf. The Subjects indeed of *War* and *Peace* are of Importance; but are not big national *Sins* of Importance also? Would not the attempting to remove them, and by that Means avert the *Wrath* and *Justice* of Heaven, be of publick Utility? Tho' we should not be able to mend an *obdurate Race*, let us, like our great Countrymen of old, do our Part, in cautioning them, that the unexpiated *Murder* of Ma-
jesty

jesty draws after it the heaviest Curses in the Storey of Heaven.

— : *acerbo fata Romanos agunt,*
Scelusque fraternæ necis;
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus crux.

Pasq. You forget the stated annual *Commemoration* of that Scene of Horror.

Marf. No, *Pasquin*; I forget not that the *Conduct* of those who *commemorate* answers in no Respect the Design of the *Commemoration*. Has it not too much the Air of mocking the Deity, to implore the *Forgiveness* of a Sin which is hourly repeated, or as often as Occasion offers—But this is not the only Instance of their Inconsistency.

Pasq. Nor of their *Injustice* neither. Yet these are they whom you would bespangle with the glittering Epithet of *just*. In what Page of the *late Annals* of their Country have you found Matter to furnish out the *Panegyrick* on their *Justice*? Is not that very *Commemoration* you mentioned an irrefragable Proof of their having no Claim to the Epithet? Had they any Acquaintance with *Justice*, any Feeling for the Sufferings of *Innocence*, could they thus annually *offer to appease* without attempting to *atone*?— But see, he moves majestically this Way, who sorrowfully can vouch for the Rectitude of my Charge against his Countrymen.

Marf. His Train bends to the *Vatican*, to confer, I suppose, with the Pontiff concerning the future *Conduct* of his House on the present big Event of a *Peace*.

Pasq. Alas! What matters how the *Conduct* of that hapless House is shaped? *Peace* and *War* to them are

are the same: They are watched alike in both, and pending both also are in no less Danger from the deadly *Dose* and *Dagger*. Wretched Situation! To be in constant Dread of deep *Design*, and friendless.

Marf. And yet, was Friendship to be attracted by *spotless Virtue*, and by Worth of every Cast, where better could she have attached herself?

Pasq. Friendship, *Marforio*, has long since taken her Flight from Earth along with *Justice*. If the latter be not to be found in *E——d*, nor the former in the Breasts of *Kings*, why shall we look for either below the Moon? I wish I could soar so high to see if Monarchs there deal out their *sacred Promises*, as they do here, to inveigle wronged Innocence for private Purposes; or, if there be a Nation so wilful as to persevere in *Injustice* to the Ruin of their Trade, at the Expence of their Freedom, and Loss of Character.

Marf. Saw you not, *Pasquin*, as the high-born Personage passed along, how deeply impressed was *Sorrow* on his awful Brow?

Pasq. Well may *Grief* have shot deep its Root, where *Joy* had never cheared the *Heart*. The Victim of *Ambition* while yet in the *Cradle*, and the Sport of *Fortune* ever since, what Acquaintance could he have with *Joy*?

Marf. There was a Time, not long since, when *Joy* seemed to dawn upon his House.

Pasq. Yes, *Marforio*; and that Dawn reflects no less on a *deluded People*, than on a *perjured Court*, whence *Innocence* is never to expect Relief. *France*, perfidious *Gaul*, plays off an injured House as best answers her own base Purposes, without a View to *Justice* or to *Friendship*. Does not her Conduct, during that late *Dawn* you spoke of, prove the Policy of

of *France* to be ever to keep the *Exiled* hovering o'er the *Isle*, but never permit their *Nestling* upon it? Ill-fated *Isle*! Whence *Jealousy* and mistaken *Zeal* have driven all *Regard* to *Justice*, and even to its own true and genuine *Interest*. But let us wave the unrelishing Subject, to treat that which ingrosses the present *Attention* of all *Europe*.

Marf. Peace is the reigning *Topick* of *Conversation*; but who knows not that the *Exiled Family* you wish to say no more of, have been the chief *Instruments* in the *Conclusion* of that *Peace*—

Pasq. And no less so in the *Success* of the *War* on the *Side* of *France*. But these are Subjects we will discuss at our next *Meeting*. Farewel, *Marforio*, the busy *Croud* thicken about us to glean up the *Harvest* of our *Speculations*. I love to disappoint such intruding *List'ners*. Adieu till To-morrow's *Sun* retire to unbend himself in *Thetis's Lap*.

DIALOGUE II.

Pasq. **W**elcome, thou only Partner of my *Cares*, thou only, who, beside myself, hast outlived the *Freedom* of this ancient *Seat of Liberty*.

Marf. Of the whole *World*, you might have said. In what *Part* of it does the fair *Nymph* reside?

Pasq. Is she not revered among thy *Favorites*? Can a *brave*, *wise*, and *just* *People*, as thou wouldst paint the *E—h* to be, subsist without *Liberty*?

Marf. Prithee, name them not.

Pasq. Ha, ha! I thought it would come to this when you examined them with *Impartiality*.

Marf. Every *Step* of their *Conduct* sinks them but the lower in my *Esteem*—See, in this *Peace*, how they abandon their best *Ally*—

Pasq.

Pasq. After squandering Millions in her Support
— But let us trace their Conduct from the Source,
to this pacifick *Ocean* into which they have forced
that heroick *Fair* to plunge along with them.
Marf. As they managed the War, it was Time
to put an End to it.

Pasq. They managed the War as they do every
Thing else, with an Eye to sinking upon the Pub-
lick, raising private Fortunes, and continuing the
Ministerial Power. The Publick is a Bubble, which
the different Parties blow thro' the Tube of *private
Self-Interest*, as Occasion offers.

Marf. And the thoughtless Populace, tho' always
played off by their different Chiefs, grow not wiser.
They were lured into the War with *Spain* by Syc-
ophants who wanted to overthrow the then grand
Corrupter.

Pasq. And is not there a constant Succession of
such *Sycophants* in that hapless Land ; Agents deaf
to *Truth*, blind to *Justice*, partial to the *Vicious*, and
prejudiced to the *Virtuous*? Is not the whole modern
System supported by *Corruption*? And must it not rest
on the ruinous Basis while it subsists? *W*—e oppo-
sed not a Rupture with *Spain* as it was repugnant to
the Interest of his Country, but as the Expence of
the War might occasion a Diminution of the Means
of *Corruption* in his own Hands.

Marf. And his immediate *Successor* urged on the
War that these Means might be increased—

Pasq. In his *M*—r's Hands, whose *Bias* he was
determined to sooth at all Events. To this End was
the War with *Spain* neglected, and one with *France*
nursed up so as to oblige her to an open Breach.

Marf. A wise Nation would and might have
avoided the *Spanish War*; but when once declared
it

it should have been prosecuted with Vigour, as the only Means for bringing it to a speedy End.

Pasq. You forget that the Welfare of the Community is no Article in the *Great* Symbol of that Country. Had the Happiness of the People been consulted, would a wasting War on the *Continent* been urged when it might have been avoided? Or would it not have been pursued with Ardor when commenced?

Marf. That perverse People do nothing like others. They scorn to take Example or follow Advice. They seem destined to pursue noxious Measures, and avoid the salutary.

Quæ nocuere sequar: Fugiam quæ profore credam.

Pasq. Such will ever be the Fate of a Nation acting *partially*. Is it not *just* that the *Unjust* should be misted in the Conduct of their Affairs? Had not this been decreed for their Punishment, would they have drained their wasted Country of so many Millions in Support of a *Balance of Power* which they, more than all others, have contributed to destroy? Before the R—n *England* may be truly said to have held the *Balance of Power*, as she was independent, and had no extraneous *Interest* to clash with or warp her from the Pursuit of her natural.

Marf. Yes, *Pasquin*; the Successes of Queen Anne's Reign are so many Proofs of the Rectitude of your Assertion. She, good but mistaken Princess, had no separate Interest to pursue. Her Heart was *English*, and as such the Prosperity of *England* alone was its Object.

Pasq. The Successes of that Queen's Reign shew indeed what *England* is capable of when her Force is skilfully directed, and her Interest only pursued;

but I cannot help seeing *Specks* in that *British Sun* :
The Character of that fair Arbitress of the Fate of
Europe is not unblameable.

Marf. She had upright Intentions——

Pasq. When it was too late——A Soul truly great,
truly just, would not give Cause for Remorse ; but,
where it was necessary, would not put it off to the
last Ebb of Life. Nor was her earlier Conduct
unexceptionable ; but let me rest here, not to enter
on the Examen of her *filial* Piety.

Marf. Her Reign was one constant Series of Suc-
cesses——

Pasq. And of what Benefit were her Successes to
her Country ? She fought for the *Balance of Power*,
a Phantom the *English* have been taught to hunt af-
ter since the Revolution, but left it as unfixt as she
found it. And the very End for which she drew
the Sword, was forgot in the putting it up, the
House of *Bourbon* being rather more powerful after
than before that War. Except a national Debt of
Two hundred Millions of Crowns, I don't see what
the *English* have got by the Victories of their He-
roine.

Marf. You forget the important Acquisitions of
Gibraltar and *Minorca*, and the exclusive Trade of
the *Affiento*. Here, *Pasquin*, were Advantages
worth all the Blood and Treasure employed in that
expensive War.

Pasq. So were that credulous People taught to
believe in those Days of Pageantry and Delusion.
If but publick Rejoicings are made for Victory, no
Matter how much Blood it cost, or whether or no
the Conquest be of Use to the Community. The
English are above the Drudgery of *Examination* :
And, which is as little reconcilable to Prudence and
common Sense, they scorn to yield even to the Pre-
valency

valency of *Experience*, that unerring Guide to sub-lunary Agents. Had that thoughtless Generation walked by Reason's Clue, and consulted the real, that is, the *commerical* Interest of their Country, they would have chosen to regain the Friendship of the *Spanish* Nation, to be reconciled to that jealous People, rather than to have extorted such *Pledges* from them as could not but increase their Jealousy, and perpetuate their Animosity. *Louis XIV.* saw Queen *Anne's* greedy Ministers ready to swallow any colourable Bait, in order to forward a Peace which they stood so much in Need of, for stemming the domestick Torrent against them, and adroitly threw out these Hooks, covered with the specious, alluring Pretexts of *Security* and *Commerical Benefit*. *Gibraltar* was the Key of the *Mediterranean*; *Minorca* commanded that whole Sea, and consequently the circumjacent States, and the *Affiento* opened to *England* a Way to the Treasures of the *Indies*. A glittering Varnish under which *Louis's* deep Designs were couched, but which Father *Time* has wore off to the *Conviction* of all *Europe*, except those who scorn to take *Experience* for their Guide.

Marf. You seem inclined to think that *Louis XIV.* wished that *England* might retain those Conquests.

Pasq. Indubitably. As a wise Prince, he saw there was no Way so likely to reconcile the *Spaniards* to his Family and Country, as by creating their Jealousy of the *English*, who, next to the *Flemings*, were the Nation in *Europe* best liked and most cherished in *Spain*.

Marf. I confess, that, on so deep a Plan, there could be no Means more effectual for working up the Jealousy and Rancour of the *Spaniards*, than the three Articles forced upon them by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. A Nation, so particularly tenacious of

Honour

Honour as the *Spaniards*, can ill brook such a Separation of their ancient *Celtiberia*, or such a Partnership in their favorite Trade.

Pasq. What Nation less haughty than they would bear such a Fortress as *Gibraltar* to be torn from them merely for the Sake of having a *Bit* in their Jaws, and holding them in constant Subjection? In vain shall the *English* hope to recover the Friendship and Trade of *Spain*, while they withhold those *Pledges* which have produced all the ill Blood that has appeared between both Nations, in various Shapes, since the last general War.

Marf. And could not the *English* have foreseen the ill Consequences of not avoiding the *Snare* laid for them by *France*?

Pasq. The *English* foresee *Consequences* and avoid *Snares*! Ha, ha! Wouldst thou that a People would ply up against the strong Tide of *Prejudice*, who hold all Kinds of *Resistance* lawful, but that to the *Passions*? It would be swerving from Nature for them to *foresee* or *avoid*. Do not you see that even *Experience*, the common Parent of *Wisdom*, does not make them the wiser. They might have commanded a separate Peace with *Spain* on the Death of *Philip V.* and, by detaching that Crown from *France*, have reduced her to the Necessity of stooping to them for what Peace they pleased; this they might have done, would they yield up that useless *Fortress* which has stood them in so many *Millions*, since the Peace of *Utrecht*, to maintain the Possession of it, and so many more lost to them by the Increase of the *French* Trade with *Spain*, occasioned by her Jealousy of *England* on account of that very Possession.

Marf. *Pasquin*, Do you call that an *useless* Fortress which is thought to be the Key of the *Mediterranean*.

Pasq.

Pasq. A Nation so powerful at Sea as the *English*, that can force open Locks by their Cannon, stand in no Need of Keys; but, did they want one for their Security, *Spain* should be the last Crown in *Europe* of which they ought to have exacted any. So far otherways, that, was it but to recover the Confidence of *Spain*, and wrest the whole Trade of that Kingdom from *France*, it would have been the Interest of *England* to restore that *Key*, as it is injudiciously called, tho' it had been of more Use than it is, or ever can be, to the present Possessors.

Marf. But, in case of a War with *Spain*—

Pasq. War is a Trade by which the *English* can never hope to thrive, as their Business is to live well with Mankind. But a War with *Spain* is what they should avoid as studiously, I had almost said, as with Heaven.

Marf. With which they wage incessant War, if Scepticism on one Hand, and Variety of Opinions on the other, be committing Hostilities against the unerring Legillator.

Pasq. If *Christ's* Kingdom had been of this nether World, they might be more cautious; but, his Artillery being invisible, they are apt to overlook his Power, as they do sometimes their Interest, which you'll say is a Contradiction—

Marf. As much as if a covetous Man overlooked Opportunities of filling his Coffers.

Pasq. Or Nations of securing their *Freedom* and improving their *Trade*; yet won't you own that the *English* have slipt most favourable Occasions where both were essentially concerned. But, to wave the Consideration of *Liberty*, is it not clear to all *Europe*, that their Detention of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and their illicite Commerce under Colour of the *Affiento*, have contributed to the Declension of the *British* and

and Increase of the *French* Trade? Hence, and not from the Ambition of the Dowager of *Spain*, sprung all those Feuds and Quarrels between that and the *English* Crown, which have so deeply wounded the Trade of *England*. Hence flows that Gall which embitters *Spaniards* against *Englishmen*, so evidently to the Detriment of the latter, and Benefit of their *French* Rivals.

Marf. Surely, *Pasquin*, the *English* do not see the ill Consequences of being on bad Terms with *Spain*-

*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nōrint,
Anglos!*

Pasq. See Consequences! Lord help thee! I say again, How could it come into thy Noddle to think that the *English* could see into Futurity! Happy! if they could see the present, or even the past! Might not they have seen all *Europe*, especially *France*, running away with their Trade ever since they were fascinated to listen to the Voice of *Sportsmen*, that led them to the *Continent* in Chase of the *Balance of Power*? May they not see that their Possession of *Gibraltar* has increased their national Débts some Millions, without any Advantage, except enriching some scandalous *Plunderers*, whose cruel *Exactions* have contributed to the Growth of the Enmity of the *Spaniards*, and to render the *English* Name more odious among Foreigners? Might they not have seen that their *Affiento* Company have been immense Losers by the *Contract*, and that the national Trade with *Old-Spain* was declining, while the Company lost by their Trade to the *New*? But their being no surer or shorter Road to the Knowledge of what the *English* will do, than to suppose they will do as they *ought not*, I will take it for granted that they will retain those Pledges from *Spain*, till *France* shall have quite

quite wormed them out of the *Spanish* Trade, and until they plunge themselves into more *Debts* and *Taxes*, so as not to be able to work within the Reach of any Market in the World.

Marf. I cannot think but the *English*, as undiscerning as they seem to you, will lay hold of the present Peace for recovering the Friendship and Trade of *Spain*, as necessary for beating the *French* out of such Branches of Commerce as interfere with the *British*. And in this View it is the Business of the Court of *London* to lay hold of the new Bias of that of *Madrid*, which inclines to the old *Spanish* Interests and Maxims.

Pasq. Yes, *Marforio*; was the Court of *London* truly in the Interest of *E——d*, the Court of *Madrid*, and the whole *Spanish* Nation, would be indulged with the Restoration of a *Fortress* which is useless, but chargeable, to *England*, and without which the Recovery of the Trade with *Spain* is impracticable. But have you not observed, for more than the Third of a Century, that *Western Cabinet* to have had different Views, and to have pursued a different Interest from that of the Nation? The Interest of the Nation required, that, in a long Interval of Peace, the *publick Debts* should be paid off; but the Interest of the C——t was to keep them up, and increase them, for the Purpose of *Subjection*. The Aggrandizement of a *foreign Territory* has been all along arduously pursued by the Court at an immense Expence, tho' the Pursuit was manifestly repugnant to the Interest of the Nation. And, perhaps, the C——t may have its particular Views in the Detention of *Gibraltar*, tho' it be visibly for the Interest of *England* to yield it up to *Spain*.

Marf. What View could the Court have in the Detention of that Fortress, except that of bridling *Spain*?

Pasq.

Pasq. Thou hast hit it. The calming *Spain*, and allaying her Jealousies, is the Interest of *England*, while that of the C—t may be to keep up *Dissensions* with foreign Powers, as the best Colour for continuing the *publick Expence*, and keeping up a *Standing Army*. You can't conceive, *Marforio*, how refined the C—t of *L—n* is become since *G—n* Maxims have been introduced there. Every Man in the Kingdom has his *Price*, and becomes a *Patriot* or *Courtier* as he is soothed or neglected; and every *publick Measure* is weighed in the Scale of *Self-Interest*, that is, it is tried by the *H—r Touch-Stone*. If it square with that Standard, it is pursued; but rejected if the cherished E—e have no Interest in its Consequences. Saw you not how *reluctantly* the C—t went into the *Spanish War*, and how *wantonly* that on the *Continent* was provoked? There was a Chance that the E—e might have been *enlarged* by the Event of the latter, and *enriched*, in the Course of it, by the *Hire* of a large Corps of its Troops; but a War with *Spain*, which must be *simply naval*, could in no Light coincide with the particular Interest of *H—r*.

Marf. A strange Itch those Islanders have to that for which they are so ill fitted by Nature! The Sea is their Province—

Pasq. And was that only on which they exerted their Skill and Strength for some Ages before the Revolution. But, since that *Aera*, the People are turned *Quixots*, mind every One's Business but their own, run in Debt for the Honour of having their Brains knocked out in distant Plains, and of being deemed the Guardians of *publick Liberty*. A pompous but sleeveless Incentive with a *Trading Nation*, secluded by their Situation from the ill Consequences of Jars and Feuds on the *Continent*!

Marf.

Marf. Still do you forget their *Connexion* with the Continent since the A——n.

Pasq. No, Marforio; that fatal *Connexion* has created the Difference of *Interests* which I observed to have been pursued by the Cabinet of L——n for a Series of Years. That *Connexion* gave Rise to the War, and was productive of the Peace.

Marf. How, my little Pasquin! The same *Connexion*, that is, in other Words, the Interest of dear H——r, has produced both the War and the Peace? Take care, my *Machiavel*, that your Petulancy don't run you on the Shelves of Contradiction and Error.

Pasq. Take heed lest thou shouldst dogmatize to thy Confusion. Was the Interest of *England* concerned in the *Transport* of her Troops to the Continent, without being invited by those most concerned in the Consequences of the War? Was it consulted when that Measure was pursued repugnant to the Desire of the *Dutch*, who were next the Danger if any had been apprehended? Had *England* any Concern in that long and expensive March to *Germany*, which furnished *France* with a Pretext for withdrawing her Troops from *Austria* and *Bohemia*, where she expended in vain her Millions, and buried her Legions? The Heroine of *Hungary* was effectually doing the Business of *France*, when lo! the March of a Royal Army beyond *Dettingen* gave Colour for the Retreat of an Enemy she was otherways sure to destroy.

The same *Motives* that urged the Cabinet of L——n to provoke *France* to the War, stood afterwards in the Way to Peace, when the Courts of *Vienna* and *Munich* had nothing to expect of each other but what was reciprocally granted. After the Disappointment of *Noailles* at *Dettingen*, *France* was sincerely for Peace, in an Apprehension of being successfully

fully attacked in *Alsace* and *Lorrain*; the Emperor *Charles VII.* had still stronger Motives to bend him to a pacifick Disposition. He saw himself abandoned by *France*, the only Ally he could rely on; or rather he saw *France*, far from being able to support him in *Germany*, scarce in a Condition to defend herself at Home. The Queen of *Hungary* was willing to lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity for ending the War in the Empire, that she might the better push that in *Italy*, when she was less jealous that the King of *Sardinia* should enlarge himself, than that *Don Philip* should get a Footing.

Marf. An ill judged Jealousy it was, considering that all might be lost to that Princess in this Country, unless the King of *Sardinia* took up the Gauntlet in her Behalf.

Pasq. And pray, what has she saved here except a Selvedge of the *Milanese*, which she is sure to hold no longer than till the House of *Bourbon* shall have taken Breath? But this is Matter for our subsequent Consideration—Well, but as for the *Jealousy* of the Court of *Vienna* of that of *Turin*, it was as conspicuous as fatal to the common Cause. *Genoa* was saved by it on one Hand, and *France* on the other.

Marf. You mean that the King of *Sardinia* became jealous in his Turn, and seconded not, as he engaged to do, the Efforts of Count *Brown* in the Invasion of *Provence*.

Pasq. Was not *Jealousy* the standing Sauce to all the Operations of the War on the Side of the Confederates? The Queen of *Hungary* was jealous that the King of *Sardinia* might elbow himself out of her Reach here in *Italy*, and he no less, that she might be in Circumstances to dictate to him. The *English* were jealous that the *Dutch* enjoyed the Trade of *Spain* pending the War, and therefore were

were constantly egging the wary Cheese-Mongers to an open Breach with the House of *Bourbon*. And the C—t of *L—n* was jealous that the House of *Austria* might, as before the War, give the Law in *Germany*.

Marf. Hold, *Pasquin*. Doth not thy glib Tongue outrun thy Understanding?

Pasq. Because I insinuate, that the Interests of *England* and of *H—r* operated differently during the War. While *England* was doling away her *Millions* in Support of the House of *Austria*, as a necessary Bulwark against the Ambition of *France*, is it not notorious that the *English* C—t, or rather the C—t of *H—r* in *England*, thwarted the glorious Design in various Instances? And with what View but that of cutting the Wings of an *Eagle* whose Pinnions might overshadow the dear E—e! Ah, *Marf!* were the *English* as much in Love with *Justice*, and *Louis XV.* with the *Youth* he inhospitably forces from his Kingdom, as a certain Prince is with *H—r*, then—

Marf. Might that friendless *Youth* be able to turn the Tables on his ungenerous *Host*.

Pasq. As he deserves—ungenerous *Host* indeed! There is something in the Conduct of *Louis*, in regard to that stiddy *Youth*, which levels that Monarch with the lowest Class of Men. To lure him from a tender *Parent*, by big *Promises* never intended to be kept, to buoy him up with Hopes of *Succours* never meant to be sent, and, after he had served all the Purposes of *France*, to be compelled to leave it—A King, a great King, to act such a Part!—

Marf. If by *Great* you mean Powerful, I agree with you; but, *Pasquin*, to call *Louis* the *Well-beloved*, as the fulsom *French* Nation affect to stile their Prince, *Great*, in any other Sense, would be satyrizing

tyrizing him. Need there be a stronger Proof of his having no Claim to the high Epithet than his Treatment of that *Youth*, who was the Delight of our Fellow-Citizens while he honoured us with his Presence?

Pasq. You may remember, my dear old Companion, how you and I lamented that his wise *Father* would yield to the Wiles of *France*, after he had so oft experienced her Disingenuity in his own Person.

Marf. He yielded with Reluctance to the urgent Persuasion of the Son, whose active Soul thirsted for Glory. Hapless *Youth*! who experiences in himself the self-interested Politicks of a Court which never intends that his *Family* shall be in a Condition to oppose her Schemes, or retaliate her *Favours*!

Pasq. Must they not be stupidly blind that do not see into the Refinements of the *French Cabinet* with regard to the *S-t Family*?

Marf. Rather must not the *French Statesmen* be *Beetles*, not to see that they had provoked that *Family* too often and grossly ever to hope to secure their Friendship?

Pasq. Marry, I think the whole Globe is overrun with a Race of *Beetles*. What else do we see but two-legged Animals that act as if the Eyes of their Understanding were in their Posteriors?

Marf. You put me in Mind of that wise Madman who refused the Helps of Physick, unless a Physician with three Eyes was brought him.

Pasq. Ha, ha! I suppose he would have the *third Eye* fixt in the Tip of the fore Finger of the Right-Hand — A notable Wight, who believed Physicians to know as little what causes Disorder within the Body, as you and I believe that the *English* know not the *Depths* of the Politicks of their own Cabinet. They are *jealous* of all the World, but least of those whom they should suspect most.

Marf.

Marf. I am glad you are returned to the Subject of *Jealousy* which we were upon. *England*, you say, was bolstering up the tottering Bird of *Jove*, while *H——r* wished his Master's Quills clipt, for Fear it should ever come into his Mind to pick out one or both the Eyes of the beloved *White Palfry*. Ha! ha!

Pasq. As shallow as you may reckon the Depth of my Politicks, they reach to the Discovery of those Motives which stood in the Way to Peace at *Hannau*, when the Prince of *Hesse* negotiated on his *Prussian* Majesty's Plan. There, *Marforio*, the *Helm* of Affairs appeared to be wholly trusted to partial *H——n* Hands. The Heiress of *Austria*, as suggested before, had nothing to expect from the House of *Bavaria*, that was not yielded to by *Charles VII*. She would have avoided entering into a new Treaty with the Court of *Turin*, which she foresaw, from the Partiality of the C——t of *L——n*, would increase the Dominions of *Sardinia* at her Expence?

Marf. And the subsequent Treaty of *Worms* proves the Rectitude of her Apprehensions.

Pasq. Ah! that Cream of Contracts, which proclaims the *Equity* as well as *Foresight* of a certain *Western* Nation, who arrogate to themselves the Justice of *Minos* and Penetration of *Ulysses*! — It must be confessed, that the disposing of the Territory of a *neutral State* was superlatively equitable; and as surely ought we no less to applaud that *Wisdom*, which, by so equitable a Measure, forced that neutral, pacifick *State* to seek for Protection under the Wings of the Enemy — But the C——t of *L——n*, ever consistent with itself, acted herein but as it had done just before at *Hannau*. There a Peace, a durable Peace, was obstructed, because the Court of *Kienna* did not seem inclined to an Extention of the E——e, by the Addition of certain *Bishopricks* to be secu-

secularised: And here, at *Worms*, the Heiress of *Austria* was to be made sensible of her *Obstinacy*, by involving her with the *Genoese*, at the Expence of her *filial Piety* and the Memory of her Father, and by carving out her *Italian Dominions* to him she was most jealous of.

Marf. I expect, in your Refinements, to find you imputing to *H——r* Politicks the Inaction of the latter Part of the Campaign of *Dettingen*.

Pasq. Surely, it requires no great Subtilty to shew that *Alsace* and *Lorrain* might have been the Winter Quarters of the allied Armies that Year, if there had been no *H——r Remora* to impede their Operations. But it would not answer the particular Interest of *H——r* that those Countries should be torn from *France*, and added to the Possessions of the Queen of *Hungary*, whose Power in *Germany* was already but too much the Object of the Dread of the *Electorate*. Take it for a Certainty, that the Increase of the Power of the House of *Austria* was as much the Object of the *Jealousy* of *H——r*, as it was the Interest and Desire of *England*. And does not the *Inaction* of the subsequent Campaign of 1744. prove the Rectitude of this Suggestion? To what else but the *Jealousy* of *H——r* can the shameless Inaction of Marshal *Wade* be imputed, when Marshal *Saxe* lay at his Mercy in *Flanders*, after the *French* had been draughted away to *Alsace* to cover that Country from the Invasion of Prince *Charles of Lorrain*?

Marf. And is it possible that such obvious Particularity to a foreign *Interest* should not have opened the Eyes of a *People* that were draining themselves of their Blood and Wealth in Support of a Cause which their *C——t* was intent to defeat?

Pasq. Alas! *Marforio!* That People see but thro' the Glass of *Corruption*, which reflects Objects but as the

the C—t directs. Was not this the Case, would they have embarked in a War on the *Continent* against the powerfulest Crown in *Europe* without Allies, except Beggars they were obliged to support, without Generals to command, or without Statesmen to direct?—But see, my venerable Fellow-Labourer, the bright Rays of *Phebus* are already broke in upon us from the East. Let us postpone the farther Discussion of this knotty Subject till the Night draws her fable Curtains to hide us from the prying Sons of Men.

DIALOGUE III.

Marf. THOU art slower to Night than usual,
Pasquin. What has detained thee from thy old Acquaintance?

Pasq. Busines, Advices of Importance, old Staff, which sets the Pontiff and all his plodding Red-Caps a-mashing the deep Tub of Politicks with all their Force. *Bellona*, hushed to Rest in the *West*, with so great Art, seems only to have withdrawn a While to appear in the *North* with greater Terror. The Emissaries of our Court, at all the frozen Regions, loudly trumpet an approaching War in that Quarter of the Globe.

Marf. Which it is no Busines of this Court to obstruct. For, let the Event be what it will, the *Infallibility* may be extended, but cannot be contracted by the Consequences of a War between the stiff Adherents to the *Greek Church*, and the pliant, reformed Professors of *Pyrrhonism*.

Pasq. Dost thou not mistake, *Marforio*, the Basis on which the *Reformation* rests?

Marf. *Private Judgment*, than which can any Thing be more pliant or fallible? Where each Individual

vidual is a *Pope* to himself, must he not be eternally tossed to and fro by the shifting Wind of Fancy? Therefore, *Pasquin*, that very Corner-Stone on which the Reformed rest their Belief, is that which strips them of all Certainty.

Pasq. *Certainty!* Ha, ha! the Word sounds not amiss, and the Consideration of it is pretty enough in Speculation? Except in Death, I know not where it is to be found.

Marf. Seek it in the Church of *Christ*, and you can't miss it.

Pasq. There again you leave me to seek—The Church of *Christ*! Who is he among the Professors of Christianity that thinks not himself of that Church? No, *Marforio*, there is no scrambling o'er the spreading Mountains in the Way but by the Ladder of *Infallibility*; and for this Reason I have often wondered that our spiritual Prize-Fighters had not stuck to the Proof of this single Position. What Labour had been saved—

Marf. And what Rancour avoided—What a Scandal is it to Religion that its Professors should hate one another for not being able to think alike?

Pasq. You see thence, my Friend, the Use of *Infallibility*, was it but as the simple Band of Charity and Union.—But what is it to thee or me that the Sons of Men should deal in Absurdity, or that the *Bears* in the *North* should worry one another in that growing Scuffle, which *France* seems to have had in View when she lately accelerated the slow Work of Peace beyond all Expectation?

Marf. *France* indeed might have wished to see the Fire of Confusion kindled in the *North*, and probably has contributed to laying those Brands that are ready to blaze. But could she have lit them up, she certainly had done so before she embraced the Peace.

Nor

Nor do I think she would so hastily have put an End to the War, had she foreseen what is so soon likely to come to pass in the *North*.

Pasq. What Weight could *France* have been in the *Northern* Scale, if burdened with the Cares and vast Expence of a doubtful War? Is she not now more at Leisure to bestow Circumspection on that distant Scene, and better able to feed the Lamp with *Subsidiary Oil*, without which *Sweden* can never be in a Condition to move to Advantage? It is a Question with me, if even *Prussia*, with all his boasted Strength, can bear up with much Grace in the coming Conflict, unless *France* brace his Arm with the Balsam of her Treasures.

Marf. No Wonder, then, that that *Machiavel* of the *North* should have been so unweariedly urgent with *France* to put an End to the War.—

Pasq. No wonder *France* should be urgent to put an End to a War she was utterly unable to continue with any View of Success?

Marf. Utterly unable! how easily, *Pasquin*, dost thou slide into the *Absurd*, when thy little Clapper is in Motion—*France* utterly unable to continue a successful War!

Pasq. She was successful in the *Netherlands*, because her Enemies were infatuated. Had there been *Concord* or *Skill* among them, she would have been as much at their Mercy there, as on the Ocean, And, even supported as *France* was, by the Jealousy, Discord, and *Errors* of the Confederates, what Hand would she have made of it, had not that adventurous *Youth*, whom she now drives from her Limits, held up her Back? Unaided as he was with either Men or Money, he found such *Resources* within himself as might open his Way to complete Success, had he been obeyed and served with Fidelity.

lity. But, hapless as his Expedition proved to himself, still was he an useful Ally to *France*.

Marf. Whose Interest it would seem to have been to have supported the Cause he was embarked in.

Pasq. The prior Consideration, in this Examen, should be, what is the *Interest* of *France* with regard to the contending Families? It is evident, from her Conduct to the *Exiled*, that she sees not her *Interest* in their Establishment. This Difficulty then being thus got over, why should we wonder that *France* has starved the youthful *Adventurer's* Cause, which she might be afraid would succeed, abandoned as it was.

Marf. After two signal Victories obtained, I admire not if a Court dreaded his Success, whose *Interest*, you say, it was, that he should not succeed.

Pasq. Yet might *Gratitude* have exacted a different Conduct from that Crown. *France* puts a fair End to this War, when she lay almost gasping at the Mercy of *England*, by Means of the bold *Adventurer*, who drew off the Force and Attention of *Britain* from the Continent for two whole Campaigns: Nor is it less certain, that the House of *Bourbon* had never been able to have dilated itself to *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Parma*, as we see it to-day, if a *Steuart* had not wore the *British* Diadem, when *Louis XIV.* offered to abandon *Philip* his Grandson to the Mercy of the Confederates. Queen *Anne's* Bias to her B—r, and her Treasurer *Oxford's* ready Concurrence with her in a Scheme of his own Liking, preserved the Crown, already tottering, on the old Monarch's Head. So that it may be truly said, that the *Bourbons* owe all their present Power and Greatness to that *wandering Family*, whom *France* never intends shall be fixt or settled.

Marf.

Marf. Besides *Ingratitude* and *Insincerity*, so natural to *Frenchmen*, might not other Reasons be assigned for the cool Conduct of *France* towards the *R—l Wanderers*?

Pasq. Yes, that she might think they would become the Cement of *Harmony* and *Concord*. Vain Apprehension! *Harmony* and *Concord* in *E—d*! How little versed must they be in the Annals of that Country! How ignorant of the Genius of the Natives, that could suppose that any *unmissioned* by *Heaven* could be able to graft *Concord* and *Union* on the *Crab-Stocks* of *Fickleness*, *Murmur*, *Dissention*, and *false Freedom*!

Marf. Unmissioned by *Heaven*! Ha, ha! Dost think, *Pasquin*, that the *Free-born* would bend to a *Plenipo* that did not *bribe* lustily, not with Promises of *Bliss* to come, but with the good *Things* of this *World*? There is a *Family*, were the *Wanderers* out of the *Way*, that might bid fair to bribe, not only the *E—sh*, to its *Interest*, but all the Branches of the *House of Bourbon*. And I am not clear but *France* wishes the Extinction of the *S—ts*, that the *House of Savoy's* Claim may stand foremost in the List of Competitors for the *British* Crown, on the frail Foot of *H—y Right*.

Pasq. You think, then, that the *House of Savoy*, by dealing out its present *Dominions* on the *North* of the *Alps* to *France*, and on the *South* to the *Sons of Spain*, the *Power* of the whole *House of Bourbon* would be exerted in favour of the *Claim* of his *Sardinian* *Majesty*, and his *Royal Descendents*?

Marf. Is not dear *Interest* the Bond of all *Friendship* between *Princes*? And who can so well satiate the *Avidity* of the *Bourbons*, as he who has such fair contiguous *Territories* to divide among them? If ever we should see the present blooming *Hopes* of the

the *S—ts* drop without Issue, we may count that the House of *H—r* will find a more dangerous *P—r* than has hitherto appeared on the Stage of Competition. And, for this Reason, it was the Surprise of many, that the Cabinet of *London* would be so attached to the Court of *Turin*, I may say, so swayed by that Court, as has been obvious to all *Europe* throughout the whole Course of the War, and particularly in obstructing the Peace, which, if made when offered by *France*, and relished by *Eng—land*, but opposed by *Sardinia*, would have saved *Britain* above *Seventy Millions of Crowns*.

Pasq. Still art thou willing to believe the *C—t* of *L—n* capable of deviating into Rectitude of Conduct. Was it eligible to have supported the King of *Sardinia* with all the Power of *E—d*, we should see him abandoned, as the Empress Queen has been by the Treaty we are met to dissect. *E—d* deals no less in *Contrariety* than in *Woollen Manufactures*; and *Contradiction* is as much its Growth as *Wooll.* *France*, after every Advantage she gained in the *Netherlands*, renewed her Offers of Peace, well knowing the short Extent of her own Credit and Purse. After the Victory of *Fontenoy* she offered the same Peace which is now agreed on; the same she did after that of *Rocoux*, and continued her Solicitations after the Battle of *Val*, and Surrender of the Maiden Bulwark of the *Dutch*. All these Offers were haughtily rejected by the *C—t* of *L—n*, while yet *France* was in Plight to support the War. But, lo! as soon as her *naval* Force was shivered to Atomes, and her *Colonies* on the Brink of yielding to the Lords of the Ocean, rather than starve; as soon as it was known that her Treasures were well nigh exhausted, her Credit stretched to its utmost Extent, her Trade ruined, and her People ready to famish

famish and rebel ; as soon, I say, as a Body of ~~Alliaries~~, that must have poised the Scale of the War, was known to be at Hand, *Holland* purged of her Phlegm by the Choice of a *Stadtholder* warmly in the Interest of *England*, and the whole Face of Things, altered as much for the better with the Confederates, as for the worse with *France*, then were the often rejected Offers of that Crown, not only embraced, but as greedily swallowed, as if *England* had been on the Verge of Destruction, and *France* in the Zenith of Prosperity — What Pity, my Friend, that *Fortune* should have a Bandage over her Eyes. Could she see, would she not bestow her Favours on the *Just* and *Wise*? *England* had it in her Power to lay *France* at her Feet, yet she lifts her up to puzzle and perplex the World hereafter. Ah ! How *unwise* the Alternative, how *unjust* to withhold the *Helm* from him who has Virtues and Abilities to adorn and steer the Bark of State !

— *Servat multos fortund nocentes,*
Et tantum miseris irasci Numinis distunt.

Marf. The Favorite of all the Muses, the Sage in Council, and the Wit in Conversation, that consummate Patriot Statesman ! Ah ! had he, had *C——f——d* born the Sway in the Cabinet, to which his Virtues and Talents intitled him, how had the Scene been changed !

Pasq. Yes, *Marforio* ; had that Lord been allowed to pursue the glorious Plan he had in View, when he chose to quit his peaceful Ease in order to extricate his Country from the fruitless expensive Burden of an unequal War, *England* would have earlier embraced the pacifick Overtures of the Enemy. But *Envy* and *Jealousy* stood in his Way, and left him but

but the Shadow of that Power annexed to the high Post assigned him. The great Man saw the growing Inability of *France*, but saw likeways the Inequality of the Burden consigned to his Country, and advised the giving Ease to the latter, before Despair might urge the Enemy to offer a second domestick Stab to a Land not yet at full Peace within itself. He might suppose that *France*, as inattentive as she may have been to the Interest of the *S—ts*, would not fail to play them on *England*, as the surest Game she could play, if pressed abroad. Nor was he sure but the Blood recently shed, for Example, might prove the Means of securing Success to the young *Adventurer* in a second Attempt: For Examples of Justice, if thought to walk too near the Edge of *Rigour*, seldom eradicate the Seeds of *Discontent*, and often prove the best Nurture to the baleful Plant. But various other Reasons might be assigned for that *powerless* Minister's Urgency for Peace.

Marf. His being *powerless* was no very bad ministerial Reason in a Country where *Opposition* is the readiest Path to Power. I will suppose, then, he might have opposed the Continuance of the War, in order to acquire that Power which was wrested from him by One far less capable of turning either *Power* or *Favour* to the proper Use.

Pasq. Ah, *Marforio!* Name not the insulting *Controuller* as a *Favorite*. Could he have been one after the *compulsory* Scene that had preceded Lord *G-f-d*'s Acceptance of the Seals?

Marf. What else but *Favour* can support that Minister in the Exercise of that more than ministerial *Power*, which has put an End to the War just when it was most necessary to pursue it with Vigour?

Pasq. *Love* and *Fear* are the most predominant Passions of the Soul; and the latter, in some Minds,

is the keenest of the two. Let us to this, then, impute the *Power*, which was impossible for Lord C——d to bend to, without wounding his Honour, and debasing the Post he held. Let us to this impute the sudden Change in the Conduct of that almighty *Minister* with regard to Peace.

While the new Secretary urged the Conclusion of a Peace as necessary, since the Conduct of the War was to continue in *unskilful Hands*, his powerful Colleague bore him down, but not by Strength of Argument. Yet, when *publick Credit* slackened, tho' imputable solely to the mistaken Conduct of the Schemist who projected the Method of raising the Supplies, that stumbling Advocate for War, *trembling* for the Event, altered his harsh Tone to Peace. Such always will be the Operation of *Fear* in weak Minds, while the wise Statesman bears up steddy against Accidents, and averts the fatal Consequence of yielding too suddenly to the dastard Passion. *Fear* operated no less in the Breast of the new *Stadholder*, who dreaded being unhorsed, if *France* should chance to push her Conquests nearer the Vitalis of the Republick.

Marf. This Patch-Work Peace, then, is the Child of *Fear*.

Pasq. Yes, *Marforio*, the ricketty *Brat* was engendred between an *E——h Beetle* and *Dutch Sutterkin*. The *English M——r* shuddered at the Apprehension of the Failure of *publick Credit*, in a Dread, that, if Credit failed, that would also fail, which was not only his own immediate Support, but that likeways of the new System of *G——t*.

Marf. Nay, if the Means of *Corruption* fail an *E——h Cabinet*, farewell all the new-fangled Systems of Time-serving Statesmen. If once the Debts of the Nation come to be discharged, and the Taxes reduced,

duced, the present mighty Influence of Ministers would necessarily cease, as the Means of *Corruption* in their Hands would be dwindled to a Dwarf, from the Giant it is at present. Then, *Pasquin*, should we see *New Systems* make Way for *Old*. If once *Corruption* be banished, Men will naturally return to their *Senses*.

Pasq. If the Sky fall, we shall catch Larks—*Corruption* banished from *England*, the national Debts discharged, and the Taxes reduced!—Let me feel, *Marf.*, if thy chizzled Locks be not dropping wet. Surely thou hast been bathing thyself in the River of *Forgetfulness*. What could come into thy poor Noddle to think that a C—t will part with the only *Staffs* it leans on? Dost thou not know that *Debts*, *Taxes* and *Corruption* are the *Barriers* that secure the *New Constitution*? Wouldst thou have Ministers part with their best Weapons?

Marf. Surely they ought, if they would prevent the bursting of their whole Machine of Government.

Pasq. As well might a loaded, hungry *Ax* be urged not to stop to crop a fresh Thistle in his Way, as an *English Minister* be moved to Pity, or prevent publick approaching Calamity, if the Prevention suit not with the Humour of his D—r. Remember I always except the late resigning *Nobleman*, who has a Heart truly *Roman*, who took up the Burden of an Employment in hopes to serve his Country, and who laid it down, lest he should be deemed an Accessory to her Fall, when he was thwarted in his Scheme for her Delivery.

Marf. I have the highest Opinion of that great Man's Virtue and Talents; but, without laying *Britannia* of the oppressive Monster she goes with, there is no preserving either her Beauty or Strength. To speak with-

without Figure, if the Debts of *England* be not soon paid off.

Pasq. They will pay off themselves; that is, the Nation will become Bankrupt. What a Havock would such a Failure make all over the Continent!

Marf. Yet, *Pasquin*, the Failure cannot be very distant, tho' it be unseen by those most concerned in its Consequence. Foreigners have at least *Eighty Millions of Crowns* in the *English* Funds; yet risque the big Property without seeing their Danger.

Pasq. Marry, I think the poor *Natives* risque much more, that have their *Sweat* annually taxed to discharge the Interest of the vast Capital.

Marf. Their Condition indeed is hard, who—

Pasq. Spin themselves, like the *Silk-Worm*, to deck out *Foreigners* with the Produce of their Industry. An annual Drain of *Three Millions and a Half* sent out of the Kingdom, in Discharge of Interest due to *Foreigners*, must necessarily soon reduce the *English* to the Condition of that laborious Reptile when it has spun itself to a Fly.

Marf. The Discerning of that Nation cannot but see the Ruin which must attend the *Outgoings* of their Country, in *Subsidies* to foreign States, *Pensions* to private Persons abroad, *Pay* to foreign Troops, and *Interest Money* for Funds belonging to *Foreigners*; but—

Pasq. Like a declining Trader, have not the Resolution to look into the State of publick Affairs, nor the Virtue to compel a *Retrenchment* of the national Expence, till at last a general Bankruptcy becomes the Consequence of the Corruption and Degeneracy of the Age.

Marf. The *Credit* of *England* is like to be no less her Destruction than that which a young Merchant stretches in unwary Attempts to make a quick Fortune.

tune at the Risque of his Creditors. Like the latter, she has undertaken more than she was able to bear, because she was trusted—

Pasq. And, like him, may be able to pay *Half a Crown in the Pound*. And, let me tell you, that this will be thought no such despicable *Dividend* in the Day of general Desolation—But cry Mercy! May not the sweet Babe of *Peace*, just arrived to us in swaddling Clouts, avert the impending Misery?

Marf. The *Peace*, in its Nature, is such that it cannot last but just till *France* takes Breath, and puts her *Marine* in *Plight*, to prevent Insults and secure her Trade. But was it, like the last, to be bolstered up for thirty Years by *Guarantees*, *Conventions*, and other such *Court Expedients*, of what Avail would it be, any more than the last, towards lessening the national Debt?

Pasq. You'll never have done, I think, with that odious Topic. Prithee, even let them enjoy their *Debts*, and all the alluring *Concomitants* in their Train, such as *Poverty*, *Subjection*, &c. &c. to the End of the *Revelations*. Let us to the subject Matter of our Conference—

Marf. The *Peace*, you mean. What would you say of it?

Pasq. That, like most hasty Contracts, it was made in a Hurry, to repent at Leisure—A *Peace* can it be called that leaves Half the Work undone? See you not how already it spawns out two Congresses, as *Nice* and *Brussels*? Nor do I despair of seeing it as fruitful in ministerial *Expedients*, as the Consort of that *German* Prince, who is said to have brought three hundred W—ps at a Birth.

Marf. There is one Consequence of great Importance visible on the general Face of the *definitive Treaty*, which is, that—

Pasq.

Pasq. The End of the War, on the Side of *England* and her Allies, is unanswered in all Lights; and that, in the Main, *France* has succeeded in her most sanguine Views. Was not the Maintenance of the Indivisibility of the *Austrian Succession*, or, in other Words, the Support of the Heiress of *Charles VI.* in all her Rights, the *End* for which *England* embarked in the Quarrel! — *England*, did I say? Lord help the poor, *wilful, obedient* Thing, who had no *End* or Purpose in View, but as she was *directed*! What was the Continent to her? — But I forgot that of late Years she has had a *Connexion* with *Terra firma* — to her S—w.

Marf. And I see that you will never forget galloping that Tongue of your's out of the Sight of your few Brains — *Wilful and obedient!* Prithee, *Pasquin*, reconcile your Epithets.

Pasq. Are there not Wives that bear the Correction of the *Strap* from their Yoke-Mates, with great Resignation, who yet will continue some favourite *ill Habit* Spite of all Correction and Conviction? That *England* has been a most obsequious *Hand-maid* since her last Contract with the House of *H—r*, Nobody will deny, that considers how worn down she is in *Reputation* since the *Banns* were published. And to what else but *Obedience* is this Decrease of *Character*, as well as of *Power* and *Wealth* owing? She was called upon to quarrel with all *Europe* in their Turns, and she obeyed. And tho' no Good-wife in the Neighbourhood loved Money better, she doled away her Pence with Profusion, if her Consort but stamp'd his Foot. Has she not most *obediently* given more than her *All*, in mortgaging herself for more than she is worth? Yet, for all these Tests of her *Obedience*, she is as *wilful* as the D—l in some Things. She is no more to be persuaded than

than the *Mule* if she once takes the Bit of *Contradiction* in her Teeth. She took it into her Head, in the last Century, to be jealous of her old *Friends*, and tho' she has had woful Experience, ever since, of the *Quackry* of those she had chosen in their Room, yet there is no persuading her that she is in Error. We will therefore consign her over to her Fate, which seems inevitable, and journey on in our Discussion of this dark *Abortion*.

Marf. Ever ambiguous, or unmeaning—

Pasq. For calling the Peace a *dark Abortion*. And pray, Mr. Critick, could a *French Taylor* fashion a Birth-day Suit better to the Size and Shape of a Court-Dangler? That it is an *Abortion* is evident from its wanting the *Nails of Security* and *Hair of Equity*, as I shall shew presently—

Marf. Nay, nay; if you prove the Rectitude of your last Epithet, I will forgive your first.

Pasq. Was it not huddled up by Night, Nobody knows where, or why, unless it was to prevent an *Agent* from the *S—ts* to serve the Plenipo's with a Copy of a Writ of Ejectment?

Marf. If that was the Cause why such unusual Caution and Secrecy was observed in perfecting the *definitive Treaty*, I cannot help wondering at the Abjectness of *France* and Undiscernment of *England*. The latter, by the Caution, seems to add Weight to the *Pretension*, and the former, by the needless Condescension, proclaims her Servility to all *Europe*.

Pasq. What cares she what the World thinks of her, if, by throwing out such *Sugar-Plumbs* to the *Queen* of the Ocean, the latter be lured to give up her *Allies*, and forgo the obvious Advantages of the Superiority of her naval Force? The Colonies of *France*, East, West, and North, lay at the Mercy of *England*. And *France* herself was so couped

up

up by the *British* Fleets, that she must have lost her whole foreign Trade, and lived for the future, like the Hedge-Hog, on her own Grease. In such a Situation, when all her mural Crowns were on the Point of being torn from her by the additional Force of Forty thousand *Russian* Bears, what could the polished Dame do better than shew a Complaisance for those that deal in *Moonshine*? The *English* Ministers were willing to make their Court to their Countrymen, by shewing an Ascendant over *France*. And would not you have the *French* Ministers bend, and exchange Baubles for Jewels of Value? The *English* have a Mind to embroider the Treaty with the Spoils of the *S—ts*, tho' it be true that every such publick Mention of that Family had better been dropt. And is it because their Passion for such Finery is unwarrantable that *France* must not indulge to it?—Let us not fall all together so unmercifully on *France*, for running up the Treaty in the *Dark*, in order to prevent a *Protest* from the Pretender, since her chusing *Night* for the Season of her Conduct, shews her conscious of her Fault, and ashamed the Sun should shine upon it. And surely *Modesty* is a Virtue, in the Fair especially, and more so in *Gallia* than any other, as being the first Time she gave Indication of any. A mighty Point gained by *England*, that *France* fell into her Views of not receiving a *Protest* from a Family who might have been forgot if so much Fuss had not been made about them—But, on second Thoughts, what a narrow Field would an *English* Ministry have to roam in, if the *S—ts* had not helped to widen it? What Pretence for a *standing Army* in Time of Peace, of Debts, Taxes, penal Laws, Subsidies, Armado's, Pensions, secret Service Money, an Army of Drones in the Power of the Treasury, and many more courtly Items, well known

known to the *Wilful* and *Obedient* themselves, whom the Consideration doth most concern: And for this Reason I wonder the present Sages at the Helm would desire the Removal of the growing *Oak* of the *S—ts* from the Forests of *France*. The nearer the young Chevalier is to *England*, the more specious the Pretext for continuing the Expence and Chains of *Englishmen*; the fairer the Game to be played on their Fears and Credulity. Nor shall I be surprised, if on this Plan of his being essentially useful to the C—t of *L——n*, that young Prince should not stir from *Paris*, tho' his Stay should appear to be involuntary on the Part of the Cabinets of both Courts.

Marf. But should the C—t of *L——n* insist on on the specifick Performance of the Treaty, in an Opinion that the Vicinity of that remaining Twig of his Family might be dangerous, and that his being two hundred Leagues farther East would answer the Purpose of *publick Expence* as well; should the Operations of the Peace be discontinued till this Article be executed on the Part of *France*, what —

Pasq. Else has the hardy *Youth* to do, but spurn at the *Grand Menarque*, and thrust in his Teeth those big Promises with which he inveigled him away from his doubting, experienced *Sire*?

Marf. *Pasquin*, such Insults sit not well on the Stomach of Kings. *Louis* might give Orders for *Compulsion* should his Patience be pushed.

Pasq. Which the Firmness of the young *Wanderer's* Mind seems to contemn. No, *Marforio*, fallen as *Louis* is thought to be from the radiant Height he once stood in the Opinion of *Europe*, cringing as he has appeared of late, I don't think he will be prevailed on to recur to Force. Nor do I think the *English* Ministry will urge that Monarch to an *Act*, which

which would not only fix an indelible Stain on his Honour, but might raise the Character of the *Oppressed* among a People heretofore famed for Compassion. Besides, an *English* Ministry might well take the Matter in another Light. The supposed Influence of *France* over the ~~S~~—ts, from the Obligations they might be supposed to lie under to that Crown, has not perhaps a little contributed to the late ill Success of the steady Youth who now puzzles the Cabinet of *Versailles*. But, should a restless People, from a serious Reflection of the past and present Conduct of *France* towards that friendless Family, come to view Things in a different Light; should it be thought that the Perfidy and Indignity of *France* can never be forgotten, nor forgiven, and that it is likely a rooted Family will succeed to any Influence she might be supposed to have had; I say, should Things take this natural Turn, it might happen that the urging *France* to come to Extremity with the undetermined Youth, may be attended with Consequences widely different from what seem to be conjectured at present by the ministerial Sages that grasp the *English* Tiller of State. But, *Marforis*, to judge with any Accuracy of these *Western* Statesmen, we must read them backward, as Witches do Prayer. We may be sure they will act on this Occasion the very reverse of what they ought. E'en let us leave them to their vain Conceits, and retire to contemplate this boasted Peace against our next Meeting. Already to the Mattin Bells of all the pious Drones of our City ring us to a Separation. Adieu, my Friend, till next the dimmer Lamps of Heaven succeed to that singular, yet fulgent one which gilds the Day.

DIALOGUE

—
—
—
—
—

aid no misfortune to the poor
DIALOGUE IV.

Pasq. **W**E come opportunely to preserve these poor Brains of mine, which are almost quite frittered away in examining the definitive Treaty, that mortally Work, doubly incircled within the awful Intrenchement of the blessed Trinity. Seest thou not how pitifully it is twice invoked before the Purport of the Contract is touched upon? **Marf.** It had Need, **Pasquin.** A Treaty, which lays Foundation for setting all Europe together by the Ears, had need of some such high Sanction to pass it upon the Vulgar. **Pasq.** The great Vulgar, you mean; for I do not see that the lesser are thought to have any Concern in these Sort of Compacts. **Marf.** Or in any other, as the World is managed, except indulging to the unwarrantable Passions of those that are less useful and meritorious. Is it not a melancholy Reflection, my Friend, that human Nature should most be debased by those most intitled and obliged to support its Dignity? In your Search for Men, see how few of the rich and exalted have any Title to it. And the higher we soar to seek Virtue, the fewer of her bright Traces shall we find. It was not thus among our famed Ancestors, who rose in Esteem with the People, and in Power, but in Proportion to their Progress in Virtue.

Pasq. That was in the Saturnian Age of the Republick; but by what Means did they rise, who, in the succeeding Ages, enslaved this Country?

Marf. By Corruption—

Pasq. Rather by Luxury, the Parent of Corruption. Yet in this venal Age, when both are grown to

to gigantick Size, there are, I hope, some Exceptions. There is my amiable C—f—d, who spurns *Corruption* from his generous Soul, tho' he wears the Appearance of *Luxury* to avoid the Imputations of Avarice and Singularity.'

Marf. Yet you saw how that favorite Noble fell—

Pasq. Fell, Marforio! Was not his Fall, as you wrongfully call his Resignation, glorious? But he, C—f—d, can never fall in the Opinion of the *Virtuous*; and it adds to the Lustre of his Character to sink in that of the *Vicious*. Would *Brutus* comply with the *Corruption* of *Julius's* Court, he might have been the first there. And has he not acquired immortal Honours, by refusing to draw with *Antony* in the enslaving Scheme then on Foot.

Marf. I do not see that any other, but *enslaving Schemes*, employ the Attention of the Great. See we not, while the Olive-Branch is hung out by most of the Powers of *Europe*, that a certain Prince is arming as if a declared Enemy had been at his Gates? And what else but to enslave is so great a Treasure expended, and so great a Number secluded from the useful Mass of the Industrious?

Pasq. That Prince, who may be likened to some spiritual Orators, that act not up to their Exhortations from the Pulpit. You read that Work which wears his Name.

Marf. I have read *Anti-Machiavel*—

Pasq. Which I venerate more for the royal Stamp than its Maxims—A royal Scribe is a Prodigy. *David* set the Example, but has had but few Followers—

Marf. In Book-Writing you mean—

Pasq. I do; for in his *Defects* he has many, tho' in his *Perfections* but few. See how he has been

copied in his youthful Pleasures ; and in his A—ry more than in his Repentance—A King an *Author* in this Age of Luxury ! Who would have thought it ? He is the only, that I can remember, since the Reformation, about which Time, that consistent, royal Scribbler, *Henry VIII. of England*, wrote a pompous Book in Defence of that *Church* which he afterwards most piously weakened, by setting his own weighty Carcass on the Steeple.

Marf. Pasquin, I am sorry to find thy Memory so impaired. I fear thou hast over-stretched its Nerves, by a too close Application to the Dissection of the definitive Treaty—Couldst thou not recollect, that some of *Harry's* Successors had wrote and printed too ? There is yet extant a Volume in Folio wrote by *James I.* and the *Icon Basilica* of his Son is in most curious Hands.

Pasq. Ah, *Marforio* ! thou hast awakened a Sorrow which I fain would have laid. What Heart so steeled as not to relent when the Horror of that good King's Treatment makes Way into the Mind ? He wrote, and was a Warrior too—and, which is more, was a Christian, and a statinch one.

Marf. Which is more than can be said—

Pasq. Not of his Son, *James II.* who lost his Crown by being too strictly one. And he, this hapless Prince, was an Author too. His Memoirs of the Campaigns of his able Master in the Art of War, the great *Turenne*, shew him to be as much a Master of his Subject, as of the Delicacy of Writing. And in this latter he is thought to be copied, or rather out-done by his Son, who is allowed to shine and excel on Paper. As for the Son of this latter, we know not if he can wield the *Pen* as well, but are sure he can the *S—h* broad Sword.

Marf.

Marf. Alas! what Beams can shoot thro' such impervious Clouds as envelope that hapless Family, whom you injudiciously suggest to have been banished for a too strict Adherence to old musty Principles? Know, *Pasquin*, that *James II.* fell, for being thought to be too closely connected with *Louis XIV.* and not for having newly taken up an old Religion. Had *James* wisely fell in with the Prejudice of his People against *France*, he needed not have been obliged to the grand Monarch for Bread.

Pasq. And see, at this Day, what a grateful Sense the Successor of *Louis le Grand* has of the repeated Obligations his Kingdom owes to the *S—ts*. How conspicuously does *Gallick* Gratitude shine in the *Nineteenth Article* of this most Christian *Treaty*, and in the *Fifth of the Quadruple Alliance*, confirmed by it? Here, little *Marf.*, is such an Ascendant, such an Advantage gained by *England*, as is worth all the Millions of *Guineas* expended in the War. What matters how the Beam of *European* Power be poised, whether the Empress Queen be so emaciated as to be of little Weight in the Scale, or whether *France* be left in Plight to kick it up when she pleases, if the *Pretender* nor his Offspring find no Asylum in *France*? What signifies if the Commerce of *England*, and the Claims of her depredated *Merchants* be overlooked by her *M——rs*, so that the *Highland Leader* be driven to a warmer Climate, against the Faith of a *K—*? What is it to the *E——e* that the *Kingdom* sink, since *H——r* is guaranteed by the *Twentieth* of this fine-spun Cobweb? And pray, what matters what Millions *England* doles away, since the pecuniary Claim of *H——r* on *Spain*, is, by the *Eighteenth Article*, to be adjusted by *Commissaries* for that Purpose nominated and appointed? Such is the elegant, significant Phrase in modern Use,

Use, for composing the Differences between claiming Powers——Well might it be said, that the Workmen at *Aix* left Half the Work undone, since *Commissaries* are the *dernier Resort* of Complainants. It is not as yet full twenty Years since we had much such another Instance of *English Address*, in flinging the hardest of the Work on those least able to go through it. You remember the memorable Treaty of *Seville* in 1729. by which *Commissaries* were to determine what was never intended should be adjusted. The same *Adroitness* was attempted ten Years after, when, by the never-to-be-forgotten *Convention*, the *Plenipo's* had stipulated to transfigure themselves to *Commissaries*, in order to be *after doing* what ought to have been the first of their Work——You simper, *Marforio*, at the Clownishness of my Phrase. You may remember it in Use in the Marches of *Ancona*; and thou knowest, that Poets and Ora-
tors have the Privilege of Adoption.

Marf. And State-men too. See what Maxims are adopted by those of the present Age. They met to adjust the *Differences* of *Europe*, but open the Gate to many more than they have composed. They guaranty his late Acquisitions to his *Sardinian* Majesty, but give him a Neighbour, who, like Oil on a Piece of spungy Stuff, will soon spread himself all around him. Shall, or can the King of *Sardinia*, or the Empress Queen, hope to be able to oppose the future Incroachments of the Sons of *Spain*, and Son in Law of *France*? Or shall the Emperor himself be able to secure the *Equivalent*, for his paternal Patrimony, from the rapacious Hands of the neigh-
bouring Baanches of a House notorious for observing no Law but that of *Conveniency*? No, *Pasquin*, *Italy* will soon be ingrossed by the House of *Bourbon*; nor was there any other Means for preventing the approach-

approaching Monopoly, but shutting out that ambitious Family from having any Footing South of the *Alps*. My Heart bleeds for the Empress Queen. A magnanimous Princess, who deserved a better Fate, and more faithful Allies! See the Difference. *France* takes Care that her Confederates come whole out of the War. The Republick of *Genoa* remains with her Possessions, and the Duke of *Modena* loses not an Inch of his Territory —

Pasq. Thanks to his Affinity with the House of ~~H~~ — r.

Marf. No, *Pasquin*; he owes his Safety to that of *Bourbon*, which dictated in the Treaty, tho' on the Eve of a Fall scarce to be avoided, if *England* had consulted her own Strength and Interest, and that of her natural Allies. *Genoa* and *Modena* have not been preserved because *France* is *faithful* and *grateful*, Virtues she has no Acquaintance with; but because she may hereafter employ those Powers to promote her Scheme of giving the Law in *Italy*. The *Genoese*, as they abound in Seamen, are no less necessary in the projected Improvement of the naval Force of *France*, than in the opening her Way to *Lombardy*, when she shall see the Time for adding the *Milanese* to the Domains of her Son in Law. And the Inhabitants of the *Modenesē* will be of some Use towards the Completion of the Tyrannick Scheme—Hapless People! who see not their Danger, or, if they do, are in no Capacity to avoid it! The Hour is no farther off than till *France* recruits, that they become the Victims of *Gallick Ambition*, and share in the general Bondage of our beloved *Latium*.

See again the Influence and Address of *France* in defeating the main Purpose of *England* in her War with *Spain*. We find no Article in the definitive Treaty that indemnifies the *English* Merchants for the

the *Depredations* committed in *America* by the *Spaniards* anterior to the War; Depredations that had been liquidated by the memorable Convention. We find no Security against the future *Search* of the trading Ships of *England* in the *American Seas*. And yet these were the Things which inflamed the *English Nation*, which lured them to a voluntary *Support* of the *Spanish War*. These, *Pasquin*, were the Corner-Stones on which that expensive, ruinous War had been raised.

Pasq. Do not all their Measures tend to Ruin? And wouldst thou have the *Spanish War* an Exception? You seem to forget the Genius of the People. On what else but *Error* have the *E—h* built for above Half an Age? Would it not have been an Inversion of Nature, for an *E—h* Ministry to have acted on Principles of true *Patriotism*? If *Beggary* be the beaten Road to *Slavery*, why may we not suppose that the Inattention shewn for the trading Interest of *E—d*, in the Treaty, was wilful and premeditated? I can herein, *Marforio*, perceive that thou art a mere Milk-sop in Politicks. And I wonder too, that, so long as thou hast resided in this Emporium of dark and deep Design, thou shouldst be a Novice in the Wiles of Courts and Ministers—Art thou still uninspired?

Marf. I see the Clue you would have me walk by to fathom the Neglect of so important a Consideration as *Trade* is to a trading Nation, but cannot see the Wisdom of *impoverishing* a People for the Sake of *enslaving* them.

Pasq. Again art thou wide of the Mark. The *E—h* are a stubborn Generation, as ungovernable in *Affluence*, as tame and Lamb-like in Want and Indigence. And thou knowest, that that cunning Wight of *Plorence*, who advised shearing the Flock close for the better preventing their being troublesome

to the Shepherds, is the Compass by which modern Ministers shape their Course. You never knew a Man submit to Servitude with his Pockets full. And as for thy Crotchetts about *Wisdom*, they are but mere whipt Sillibub. Didst thou ever know *Wisdom* and *Ambition* coupled together, unless it was for the latter, like a Termagant married to an honest wise Man, to stop its Ears for Fear of hearing the sweet Voice of Truth. If the Ambitious had consulted the Oracle of true *Wisdom*, they would chuse rather to be *loved* than *feared*. And if Ministers had consulted the true Interest of the Prince, leaving that of the Community out of the Question, as is generally the Case, they would advise no Measures that tended to deprive him of the Hearts of his People.

Marf. Alas! *Pasquin*, where shall we find the Minister that consults not more the *Passions* than Interests of his Master? Have we not seen the War carried on when it should have been put an End to, and ended when it should have been continued? And why such a Contrast in the Ministerial Conduct of those *Machiavels*, that have forgot, in the Treaty for putting an End to the War, the very principal *Purposes* for which it had been begun.

Pasq. There is no disputing that the *Search* of British trading Ships by the *Guarda Costa's* of Spain, and the *Depredations* committed on the British Merchants, were the sole Objects of the War with Spain, and so well they have been kept in View by the late Treaty-Makers, who have outdone their Predecessors, in *Modesty*, a long Bow's Shot. At *Seville* in 1729. and *Madrid* in 1739. Care was taken to preserve Appearances, at least, which was an Indication, if not of *Fear*. In those Days, even while the *Walpolonian* Vizir steered, *Commissaries* were appointed to adjust material Points, tho' nothing more

was

was intended by them, than to serve as *Sugar-Sops* to feed a credulous People, and to widen the Bottom of *Employments* in the Gift of the Minister. But, as if all *Modesty* and *Decency* towards the Publick had been buried with *Walpole*, who, by the by, was not deemed an over-courteous Minister, here is a *Treaty* made, a *Definitive* one too, without so much as a *Compliment* made to the *English* Nation for giving away their *Rights*. Tho' the Right of *not being searched* might have been intended to be given up by the *Convention* in 1739. yet there was some *Modesty*, some *Shew* of *Deference* for the Publick, in the Appointment of *Commissaries* for a future Adjustment. But at present—

Marf. The *E—h* are treated, by their *Plenipo's*, like *Princesses*, who are often trucked away, for *Peace*, to some *r—l* *Fool* or *Madman*, without their *Consent* or *Privity*.

Pasq. Rather like *Drawers* of *Water* and *Hewers* of *Wood*, whom their *Task-Masters* think below all *Notice* and *Condescension*. Can we consider, in any other Light, a Nation that are, by this very *definitive* *Treaty*, obliged to pass under the *Yoke* of *Servitude* to those, who, in a few Months longer *Continuance* of the *War*, might expect to wear the infamous *Badge* themselves? Had the *Current* of the *War by Land* turned against *France*, as it naturally would, if continued, then indeed might the *Yoke* be imposed on her *Sons* with some *Propriety*, as being known for *Adepts* in the *Science* of *Chicanry*. But for the triumphant *Lords* of the *Ocean*, the boasting *Props* of *Faith* and *Probity*; for the *English* to be obliged to give *Hostages* to *France* as a *Pledge* for their *bonne Foi*—How fallen, how degenerated are that once vain People grown! Ah, *Marforio*!

farjo! whence comes it, that a generous People thus lose the very Ideas of Glory and Honour?

Marf. Seest thou not that Children are fashioned by their Parents, and Pupils by their Tutors—

Pasq. Yes, Mr. *Wiseman*; I see too that Parrots are taught to speak, and Dogs to dance, and what then?

Marf. That, like these, Nations are moulded to the Standard of those that direct their publick Affairs.

Pasq. As much as to say, that if M——rs be weak, wilful, venal, cringing and fawning, their Countrymen will become Asses, Burden-bearing Asses, and will be treated as such by their whole Neighbourhood—Zook's! I would any Caperer in *France* durst have proposed *Hostages* to old *Noll*!

Marf. Ah! name not the vile Usurper, who, to feed his Ambition, has brought the big Sin of *national Murder* on a whole People and their Descendents for ever.

Pasq. For ever, *Marf!* a dreadful Decree!—

Marf. And irreversible, without real *Compunction* and solid *Restitution*.

Pasq. Nay, if such Conditions be annexed to the Reversion, I despair—

Marf. If such Conditions!—Is it a Doubt, then, that *Justice* is one of the bright Attributes of the Deity? It is none; it can be no Doubt that publick as well as private *Crimes* are only to be purged off by *Sorrow* and *Atonement*.

Pasq. Prithee, my Casuist, what Species of *Purgation*, think you, may be adequate to the *Sin* of evil Treaty-making? And, when your Hand is in, pray inform me who are most culpable, the *Plenipo's* or their ministerial *Directors*: And what Share of the *Guilt* may be divided to the two *Hostages*, if any two *Ignobles* should be found so weak, as not only to

hazard their own *Liberty*, and even *Life*, but to fulfil for ever the Fame and Honour of their Country? I shall measure the Punishment to be inflicted by thy Answer.

Marf. As in *Murder*, by the Laws of *E—d*, so in *ministerial* Affairs, by that of *Reason*, there ought to be no *Accessories*—

Pasq. 'Sflesh, *Marf!* Thou dost not think that the *Hostages* are equally criminal?

Marf. Have they not the Staff of *Free-Will* to hold up against all illegal Commands? Is not the Path to Security, in a limited Monarchy, short and sure! *Resignation* is in every Man's Power where no Law warrants Coercion.

Pasq. But *Disinterestedness* is not in every Man's Nature—

Marf. It is true, *Pasquin*, or we had seen many more *Resignations* when *C—f—d* quitted a Company he began to be ashamed of. Happy that he foresaw the approaching *Infamy* of his Country, and avoided sharing in it, since he was not able to prevent it!

Pasq. He would have died in the last Dyke of his Country's Honour, if he had been in the *M—y*, before he would have a Hand in stitching the inglorious Badge of *Subjection* on fair *Britannia's* Arm. 'Sdeath! if *Hostages* must be given to *France*, why were they not to be of the Subjects of the cherished *E—e*, that had benefited by the War, and benefits by Peace, while poor *England* loses by both? Gad, *Marf*, the Blood in my marbly Veins boils so at these Betrayers of *patrial Glory*, that I do not think any Punishment adequate to their Guilt, but Banishment to—

Marf. *Siberia*, among the *Russian* ministerial Bears.

Pasq.

Pasq. No, no ; to the Castle of *H——r* ; there to be obliged, like Coal-Metters in *England*, to shovel up daily the mouldy Heaps of *B——h Crowns* and *Guineas* that have been annually unloaded there.

Marf. And, like *Midas*, starve amidst the rich Heaps that had been raised by their own Degeneracy.

Pasq. Rather let them hough *Turneps* in the adjacent Plains, feed on them, and never die, that, like him who stole the celestial Fire, their Labour may never cease, and their Punishment may be eternal

— *Hostages*, and all —

Pasq. Ay, even to the lowest ministerial *Rag*. I would make a general Sweep, turn the Current of *Justice* into the *Augean Stable*, and clear away all the Filth that had been gathering there for Half an Age,

Marf. It would require more than *Herculean* Virtue to cleanse a People almost quite eaten up with the Leprosy of Corruption.

Pasq. There is one short direct Road to the Cure, and but one —

Marf. Which you may be sure the *E——h* won't journey in, because it is most eligible; it would be acting out of Character for them to walk by the Clues of *Wisdom* and *Justice*. — See we not *E——h* *Incorrigibility* in every Article of the Treaty under our Consideration ? — ‘ By the IX. *Cape-Breton* shall be ‘ restored with all the Artillery and Ammunition ‘ which was found therein on the Day that it was ‘ surrendered.’ — But Fort *Sr. George* is to be restored in such Condition as it may happen to have been on the 31st of *October* last. Why were not the Stipulations reciprocal ? Why was not the latter to be restored in the Condition it had been taken in as well as the former ?

Pasq. Because then *E——h* *Subjection* and *French Influence* would not have appeared so conspicuously

cuously to the World. The *E——h M——ry* have a peculiar Knack in *Sinking* the Character of their Country in all their Negotiations with Foreigners. If an *Eel* is to be held, they are sure to lay hold of the Tail—

Marf. And dole away their *Millions* to cover their Nation with Shame. Behold how the *Bourbons* lord in it this Treaty! Nothing has been left undone that can secure their Allies or aggrandize themselves. A *Son of Spain* is wedged in between the Allies of *England* in *Lombardy*, so as to sever them from each other, and for ever from being able to bear up against the united Power of the House of *France*. A respectable Silence is imposed on *E——d* with regard to her Motives for a Rupture with the *Dons*; the *Insecurity* of her *American* Trade left as open as before the War, and her *Claim* for Depredations anterior to it buried in eternal Oblivion. And what is the pompous *Equivalent* for so big a Sacrifice?

Pafq. The *Friendship of Spain*—

Marf. Which *England* can never hope to recover, any more than the *Spanish* Trade, while she withholds *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* from them. No, *Pafquin*, the *Equivalent* is only the Enjoyment of the *Assiento* for *four* instead of *fourteen* Years, the Exercise of which Contract had been suspended occasionally by *Spain* herself. These are the People that plume themselves on having had a steady Eye to the Trade of their Country in the Treaty before us.

Pafq. Did ever Fish-Woman cry stinking Fish? Or was ever so grovelling a *Zany* on the m——l Stage, as would not trumpet his own Fame when he was sure none durst gainsay him?—For all you say, Mr. Inquisitor, I say the Treaty is a special Treaty, answering every ministerial Purpose that could be devised, who by those would preserve their own

own ministerial Power and Credit at the Expence of their Country. It might have been, in Days of Yore, a Maxim with Ministers not to lose Sight of the *Interest* of their Country in their foreign Negotiations; but in this more enlightened Age the ministerial *Consideration* is more circumscribed. It centres solely in *Self*. For Instance, if a Peace be necessary for the *Minister*, he will be sure to cook it up to the Gust of *Somebody*, (whom it may not be proper for a *Translator* to name) but, *Marforio*, you are always to understand that that nameless *Somebody*, is *Nobody* unless he has Passions, and particular *Attachments* and *Views*. *Nam sine vitiis nemo nascitur*—K—gs in Purple are no less *Men* than those in Buskins; and *Julius* may have had his *Prejudices* as well as *Roscius*.

Marf. And may have less Strength to conquer them.

Pasq. Pshaw! What Modern would be at the Pains of a Conquest that did not suit with his Interest? If the general *Scheme* be to secure the *Obedience* of the *E——h* by *impoverishing* them, and to *aggrandize H——r* at the Expence of *E——d*, was ever a *War*, in this copious View, better managed than the last, or a *Peace* more favourably cooked up than the present? Was not the War by *Sea* generally neglected, except by particular Adventurers, or towards the latter End, by the Ministry's being dragged into some small Degree of Exertion of the formidable Naval Power of *England*? And was it not conducted so by *Land* as to render it successless, yet to increase its Burden? If, in the same Light, we scrutinize the *Peace*, shall not we find it answering all the *Ends* of the deep Schemes of sycophant *M——rs*? Is there a Shred of the wide pacifick Parchment securing the *Commerce* of *E——d*? Are not those Conquests given from her, which alone could

could make her any Amends for her unequal Expence during the War? *Cape-Breton* made her Mistress of the lucrative Trade of *Fish* and *Fur*; yet it is tamely yielded up, while *Gibraltar*, not worth the Expence of keeping, is tenaciously kept, to the Ruin of the *Spanish* Trade. Yet, conspicuously as it appears that the *trading* Interest of *E—d* has been overlooked in the Treaty, it is no less certain that her *Safety* and *Honour* were equally abandoned by the *E—b* Compounders of the pacifick Dose. To instance no other, the Article of the *Hostages* is an indelible Wound to the Honour of *Britain*; and if the Force put on the Empress Queen, to acquiesce with the hard Conditions of the Peace, be taken into the Account of *National Honour*, it will be found to increase the *Stain* no less than it will contribute to render the *Safety* of the Island more precarious and uncertain.

The XXI. Article of the Treaty stipulates a fresh Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which is a tacit Avowal of the Necessity of preserving the Indivisibility of the *Austrian* Succession, as necessary for securing the Liberties, not only of the Empire, but of all *Europe*. Yet this *Security* is bartered away for Moon-Shine. *Silesia* and *Glatz* are given away to the secret *E—y* of the House of *Austria*, and guaranteed to a *Prince*, no less intent to stay the Curvets of the *white Steed* in his Neighbourhood, than the Flight of the black *Spread-Eagle*.

Marf. Alas, *Pasquin*! It has been long observed, that the *Steed* you mention is not more jealous of the imperial *Bird*, than of the *King* of Beasts.

Pasq. Poor *E—b Lion*! how toothless is he become, tho' he affects to growl and roar as formerly! —Generous Creature! How altered from what he was in the Days of *Anne*, the last of the *Stuart* Race who

who filled the Throne of her Ancestors! It was complained she had abandoned her Allies in 1712, but let them be dumb for ever who compare the Treaty of *Aix* with that of *Utrecht*. There we shall find *Charles VI.* possessed of all the hereditary Dominions of his House, enriched by the ample Addition of the Spanish Possessions in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*. But how is the pleasing Scene of Safety and of Power changed by the present Treaty? The House of *Austria* is little more than the Shadow of what it was before the War. It is true the Shell stands, but the richest of its Furniture are moved away. *Silesia*, the fairest of her Provinces, is torn from the Empress Queen; she scarce has a Footing in *Italy*; and in the *Netherlands* she bears an empty Name, without Power or Safety. The Provinces are to be restored to her, but so impoverished as not to be able to defray the Expence of their keeping, and so dismantled, as scarce to be in Condition to stay a royal Huntsman in Chace of his Game.

Marf. Yet this is that *natural Ally* whom *England* had boasted she would bear up against the Ambition of *France*.

Pasq. The Epithet *Natural* better fits the *Grand Turk*, because he has some naval Power; which alone can give any Colour for the Expression. But, in Truth, if *England* knew, and pursued her *natural* Interest, she would have all the World for Friends, but would stand in no Need of Allies. The House of *Austria*, without Sea-Ports, a Ship of War, or scarce a Cock-Boat, to be the *natural Ally* of an insular Nation a thousand Miles from it! What Incongruity! What Frenzy! But this is one of those unmeaning Phrases coined in the *R——n Mint*, to lure the *E——h Beetles* into a Liking, for Land-Wars——

Marf.

Marf. Of which they are like never to have a Dearth while they have so intimate a Connexion with the Continent as at present.

Pasq. Ay, ay; dear *Turnep Land!* There, *Marforio!* there, indeed, the Word *Natural* may be applicable. *Austria* may be deemed the *natural Ally* of *H—r*, but never can of *England* with any Propriety.

Marf. Nor of *H—r* neither, while it is the Business of the *White Nag* to extend his Pasture-Ground, and of the *Eagle* to obstruct any Enlargement of it. Besides, the House of *Austria* can bear no Equal in the Empire, and *H—r*, being bolstered up by *E—d*, has assumed Airs which the Court of *Vienna* may have thought little suitable to the Degree of Vassallage.

Pasq. Take back, *Marforio*, thy Diminutive. The Epithet might suit with the Condition of most of the other States of the Empire. But for *H—r*, more rich in *Bullion* than all *Germany*, abounding in Treasure beyond any State in *Europe*, not to be above the Degree of Vassallage!—Recant, *Marf*, or—

Marf. I shall be put under the *Ban* of the Empire, as little regarded, at present, as the *Bulls* of the *Vatican*, which heretofore bellowed so loudly, as to strike Terror to the utmost Limits of the Globe. But now the hornless Animals may bellow out their Lungs before they are heard or heeded. So it fares as to the *Ban* of the Empire. While the Person filling the Imperial Throne had the Power to enforce the Execution of the Ordinances of the *Diet* which he *influenced*, then indeed the being put under the *Ban* of the Empire bore a significant Meaning. But, at present—

Pasq.

Pasq. Care is taken that the *Head* shall have no coercive Power over the *Members*. I understand thee, my Friend, and can perceive how the late *War* and present *Peace* may have answered the *double Purpose* of certain modern Statesmen. The unequal Burden of the *War* urged on apace the *impoverishing Scheme*, as the readiest to tame a *stubborn People*; and the hard Conditions of the *Peace* reduce the Imperial Diadem to the little Importance of an *Indian Crown of Feathers*.

Marf. To such the Princes of the Empire think it their Interest to reduce the Imperial Crown.

Pasq. And to such, indeed, it is reduced by the present *Peace*. But how wisely *consistent* was *England* in expending her *Millions*, in depressing her *Trade*, and draining her *Vitals* in Support of the House of *Austria*, while it seemed to have been the *View and Interest* of *H——r* to humble that haughty Race? —— Luckless Land, doomed to be a Province to the pitifullest State in the Empire!

Marf. More luckless, in giving Birth to unnatural *Sons*, that treat her as swaggering, travelling Spend-Thrifts do an *Hostess* to whom they never intend to return.

Pasq. Tho' such a Procedure, in the Traveller, would be unjust and dishonourable, yet would it fall far short of an unnatural *Englishman*, that should aid towards the *Indigence and Dishonour* of his Country, and Ruin of Posterity, for Lucre, Smiles, or Titles. Ah, how gloomy the Scene which presents itself to those few *Englishmen* that can *discern*, and have any *Bowels* for their bleeding Country!

Marf. This *Peace* opens such a wide Gap to Confusions, lays such a Foundation for War, as

must inevitably involve *England* in all its Calamities.

Pasq. So perhaps it might have been intended by the *Winders* up of the pacifick Bottom. A durable Peace might produce such another *Opposition* as has turned *Walpole's* Chariot. People too might grumble that no *Reduction* of the publick Debt was grafted on a long Peace. Can it be wondred then that the Peace is as ricketty and flemfy as we find it? What matters it to a Ministry, whether a Peace be sound and likely to subsist, so it answer *Ministerial* Purposes? Need I tell thee, *Marforio*, that Ministers distinguish with great Subtilty between *Purposes Ministerial*, and *Purposes National*. The latter may look to themselves, or go to the D—l for any Thing, an *E—b M—r* cares a Button, so the former thrive. If he can keep his *Post*, have the Ear of *Somebody*, and be permitted to shear the Flock, the *Nation* and *Posterity*, he thinks as little of as of Religion and the *Gospel*.

Marf. Ah! how delicately adapted is the present Peace to those *Purposes* which you call *Ministerial*!

Pasq. Are not all the *Purposes* of the Cabinet purely *Ministerial*, that tend not to the Good of the Community? And I defy the most flattering C—t Sycophant to point out any one *Purpose* of the Community answered by the Definitive Treaty. The Objects of the *Spanish* War have been quite out of the View of the Negotiators. The *British Navigation* in the *American Seas* is as insecure, and the depredated *Merchants* as discontented as before the War. The only useful Conquest made by the *English* (*Cape-Breton*) is to be restored. Another *Bourbon* is introduced into *Italy*, to render the House of *Savoy* tributary, and drive that of *Austria* quite out of it.

it. The richest of her hereditary Provinces is guaranteed to the Empress Queen's most dangerous Neighbour, without obtaining any solemn *Renunciations* from the other Claimants to the *Austrian Succession*. The *Austrian Provinces* in the Low-Countries are to be restored in so ruinous a Condition, that *Louis XV.* may pay the *Dutch* a Visit in his Night-Cap and Slippers, whenever he is in Humour to munch *Cheese* and quaff *Geneva*.

Marf. And that, we may be sure, will be as early as the Establishment of a *Marine* to protect the Trade of his Subjects, and the Discharge of his Debts.

Pasq. How different is the present System of Politicks in *England*! Here *Debts* are contracted with a View, *ab origine*, never to be discharged, as they are thought to be Pledges for Duty and Fidelity. And this Maxim, as unwise and unnatural as it is, seems to be woven into the Constitution. But in *France*, and all other Countries in *Europe*, except *England*, the Necessity of contracting *Debts* is yielded to with Reluctance, and the Cause no sooner ceases, than all Means are used for removing the Effect. But, as if it had been premeditately designed, that the *English Milk-Cow* should be milked dry, she is intangled in such a Net of different and jarring *Guaranties* by this Treaty, that it is impracticable for her ever to disengage herself with any Safety and without an immense Expence. If the Courts of *Vienna* and *Berlin* fall out, as it is ten to one but they do before the Close of the next Year, whom shall the Court of *L—n* abet? Again, should *Russia* and *Prussia* fall out, as who believes not that they will, whom shall *E—d* assist? She is engaged to both; but thou knowest there is no serving two Masters.

Marf.

Marf. I do not see that she can do better than jog on in the old Tract—

Pasq. Feed one underhand with *Money*, and help the other openly with Troops or Ships. You may remember the Conduct of the *E——h* Cabinet with regard to *Augustus* and *Stanislaus* in the last *Polish Election*—

Marf. Or that of the late Emperor *Charles of Bavaria*, to whom a certain *Vote* was given, while *England* was almost bled to Death in order to shut him out from the Imperial Throne.

Pasq. Or the permitting a *Spanish Army* to be wasted to *Italy* by one Treaty, while another subsisted for opposing such a Transportation with all the naval Power of *Britain*—But there the cherished *E——e* stood in the Way. *Mallebois* might have been a troublesom Guest—Ah! poor *England*! how art thou made to play at Leap-Frog just as *H——n* pleases!

Marf. Yet what fair Opportunity was *England* furnished with, by this Treaty, to wind herself into a safe and durable Peace?

Pasq. A much better she had if she would have continued the War but for another Campaign or two. In that short Compass she might have stript *France* of all her Colonies in *America*, South and North; and, with the Force already sent to the *East-Indies*, every *French Settlement* there must have fallen to *England*. Every Branch of the *French* sovereign Commerce might be so obstructed, by the naval Force of *Britain*, that the Natives of all the South of *France* must inevitably be famished, unless *Corn* should be carried from the northern Provinces for their Relief; and in that Case the *French Armies* in the *Netherlands* must be ill supplied. With the scanty

scanty Stock of Corn then in France, neither the Army or People must want bread, as the Weight would naturally fall on the latter, there must necessarily have been an Insurrection in the Bowels of the Kingdom, which would answer every National Purpose an English Ministry could propose.

Mar. But the *Purpose ministerial* may have been better answered by the charitable Relief of Corn allowed to be exported for France, just when her Sons were on the Verge of Despair. Yet even then, when the *Cock* lay panting under the *Lion's Paw*, were the *E—h* Ministry suing for Peace as humble Suplicants. In such a Hurry were they to put an End to a War which promised the most glorious and alluring Prospects, that they overlooked all the Purposes for which it had been entered upon. Had they proceeded deliberately, and taken a large Compass in the Negotiation, all the peccant Humours in Europe might have been sweetened and corrected. The growing Tumour in the *North* might have been removed by gentle Fomentation; the Claimants to the *Austrian Succession* might have been softened into healing Renunciations; the Causes for future Contests with *Spain*, which are untouched by this Treaty, might have been lessened, if not quite removed—

Pasq. All would have been better if *Ministers* were better; that is, if the *Purposes ministerial* had not combated the *Purposes national*, which must ever go to the Wall while *Englishmen* act corruptly and unjustly, and servilely bend to a fatal *Connexion* with the *Continent*—But even let the blind and wilful trudge on in the mirey Path thee are so fond of, since nor *Justice* nor *heroick Virtue* can wear off the mistaken *Rancour* of their Hearts. Hereafter we shall see dire

Ne-

Necessity, in all its various hideous Shapes, wearing off the Edge of *Prejudice*, unsealing the Eye of *Reason*, and working that Cure which they are so averse to, yet so much stand in Need of. Yes, *Marfario*, *Necessity*, ever the Consequence of Corruption, as Famine is of the Plague, will one Day drive the *E——b* to *Bliss* and *Duty*, as yon rising Sun drives us to a Separation.—Farewel.

F I N I S.



